reason

ULY 1976
NE DOLLAR

AMERICA'S
LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION
MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

WASHINGTON, F.D.R.
AND THE CONVOYS
ROBERT BRAKEMAN

THE WEALTH OF
NATIONS: AN INTERVIEW
WITH ADAM SMITH

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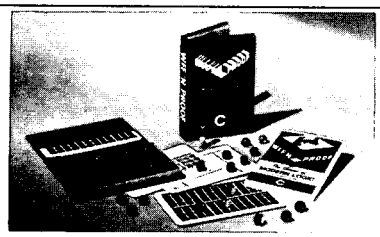

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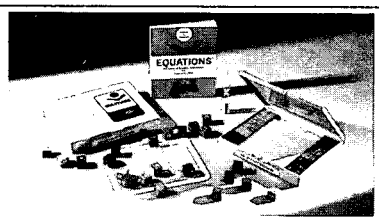

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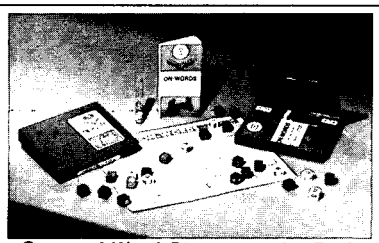

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A forum for analysis and commentary, with an emphasis on individual liberty

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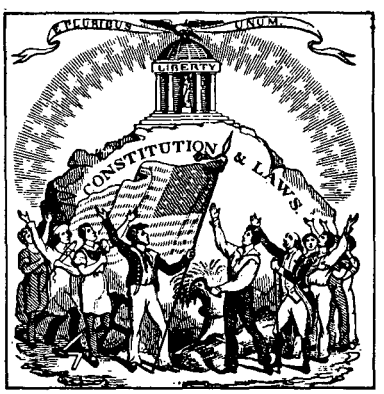

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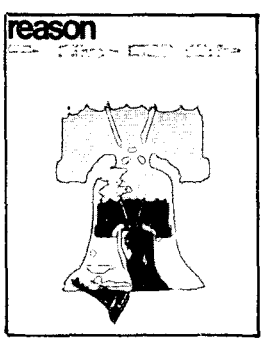

This month's cover depicts the erosion of individual liberties over the course of this country's 200 year history.

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LETTERS

ZEN QUESTIONED

The appearance of James Chesher's Review of *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* in REASON (March) is, to me at least, puzzling. While it is not my intention to read anyone out of the movement, or advocate a rigid party line, some positions are simply too outrageous to pass over without comment. Chesher's review is one such.

To begin, there is the (implicit) denial of objective reality, a denial so absurd as to be hardly worthy of the dignity of critical discussion, if were it not for the great seductive powers of this Venus Fly-Trap of the mind. Here is Chesher quoting Pirsig, apparently approvingly ("Sometimes his observations are sharp-edged and critical; at other times, almost fluid, written with the pen of a poet"). His quotes follow:

> Those Indians and medieval men were just as intelligent as we are, but the context in which they thought was completely different. Within that *context* of thought, ghosts and spirits are quite as real as atoms, particles, photons and quants are to a modern man. . . Modern man has his ghosts and spirits too, you know. (Page 32 of *Zen,* etc.)
>
> What is essential to understand at this point is that until now there was no such thing as mind and matter, subject and object, form and substance. Those distinctions are just dialectical inventions that came later. (p. 367)

And Chesher himself : "The reader will definitely be challenged, particularly by the philosophical twists and turns that haunt Phaedrus, who does his best to overturn what he takes to be our greatest intellectual obstacle—the dualistic world view bequeathed by Aristotle."

Well, *I* do not feel challenged by this claptrap, and I do *not* find Aristotle's philosophy, particularly his logic, an obstacle to anything but confusion, error and absurdity. On the contrary, Aristotle's logic is what has given Western thought its distinctive impetus out of the swamp of Oriental death-worship and mysticism.

Chesher does not make matters any better merely by pointing out that Aristotle is not an "ogre," a back-handed compliment if ever there was one.

Readers interested in a more thorough discussion of what I call "magical thinking," which is what I take Pirsig's world view to be, are referred to my upcoming article in REASON, "The Crock in the Cosmic Egg."

George Morrone
Warminster, PA

Mr. Chesher replies: I'm greatly relieved that Mr. Morrone does not intend to read me out of the movement. As for his claim that I deny objective reality by approving of Pirsig's observations, let's look at the facts. In the first quote, Pirsig is making a conceptual claim about *context.* His underlying point is not so much that ghosts and spirits are real, as that atoms, particles, photons, and the like are not. Rather, these are *theoretical* constructs, and we make nearly as serious a mistake philosophically to take them as real as if we took ghosts to be real. Consider the mistake some philosophers made shortly after the turn of the century when they argued that since a table is made of atoms and mostly empty space, the table is mostly empty space, not *really* solid. Now *this* is claptrap and a denial of objective reality. Similarly with mind, matter, subject, object, etc. We can carve the world out in this fashion if we wish, and there are contexts in which it makes perfectly good sense to do so. But just try to establish as philosophically sound, regardless of context, that the "objective world" is neatly and irreversibly divisible into mind on the one hand, matter on the other, form on the one hand, substance on the other. Neither the world nor the language work that way.

Put simply, one does not have to accept atomic physics as the final explanation, or to accept atoms as *real* in order to affirm objective reality. That would be taking a rigid party line indeed.

I look forward to Mr. Morrone's upcoming article. No doubt it will give me the opportunity to get in print once more.—J.C.

APRIL FEEDBACK

Two notes of special appreciation are due for your excellent April issue.

First, you were wise to include David Bergland's "The Risks of Tax Resistance" as a caution to many who might otherwise be unaware of the futility of this strategy.
(continued on page 10)

Now That Gold Shares Are Down 46% Since June '75, What Does HEIM Advise Now?

Dividend Danger Ahead?

What is the trend for the price of gold and what will be its effect on gold stock prices?

LAWRENCE H. HEIM

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Most other advisors who had been recommending gold stocks said he was wrong when he gave this sell signal. In fact, they were recommending the *purchase* of gold shares at the time and many continued to say "buy" all the way down! This 46% collapse represents a tremendous loss of capital for those who held onto gold shares instead of selling them in June. But enough for history, let's look ahead:

- Dangers ahead from dividend cuts?
- What has happened to prices of South African gold stocks? Will prices move up?
- What about the fighting and the political situation?
- What about Canadian gold shares — should they be bought?
- What is the outlook for Homestake?
- What is the trend for the price of gold, and what will be its effect on gold-stock prices?
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EDITORIAL

THE ATTACK ON SEGREGATED PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The U.S. Supreme Court recently heard oral argument in two cases involving the issue of the right of privately-owned schools to discriminate against blacks. The cases were brought to the Supreme Court by two northern Virginia schools, the Bobbes School, a private nursery school with 155 students in kindergarten through second grade, and Fairfax-Brewster School, a private elementary school with 77 students.

In 1973, a U.S. District Court judge held that the refusal of Fairfax-Brewster and Bobbes School to admit otherwise qualified black students solely because of their race violated a Reconstruction-era statute that gave newly-freed slaves the same right "to make and enforce contracts . . . as is enjoyed by white citizens." In a 4-3 decision, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, in an opinion by Chief Judge Haynsworth, upheld the District Court's ruling that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 prohibited racial discrimination by private schools.

The 1866 Civil Rights Act was a vaguely-worded measure passed by the Reconstruction Congress to counteract "Black Codes," statutes passed in Southern states to deprive freed slaves of the right to own property and to form contracts after the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery in 1865. The 1866 Act was dormant until 1968, when it was revived by the U.S. Supreme Court in a case ruling that the 1866 Act should be broadly interpreted to prohibit private racial discrimination in the sale or rental of property. In so holding, the Supreme Court, in effect, overruled the well-established rule of the 1883 *Civil Rights Cases* that the Federal Government could not prohibit private racial discrimination unless it is in some manner supported by "State action."

How do libertarians approach the problem of segregated schools? As individualists, we fundamentally believe that persons should be judged on their own merits, and not on the basis of arbitrary characteristics such as race. We consider the "State action" rule to be sound insofar as it is used to ban arbitrary, racist action by the State. But the question whether privately-owned and privately-financed schools should be allowed to discriminate on racial grounds is distinct from the issue whether racial discrimination is desirable.

From a libertarian perspective, it is axiomatic that individuals should be free to conduct themselves as they see fit, so long as they do not infringe on the rights of others. It is important to recognize that, in a free society, the right of an individual to enter into a contract to obtain a service or product does not carry with it the power to compel another to furnish any particular service or product. What is essential to the structure of a free society is the recognition of the basic right of a person to refuse to deal with another for *any* reason. The rights of free association and of privacy go hand in hand with property rights, and they are meaningless if they are recognized only for those whose private moral conduct meets our approval. In other words, a free society must recognize the rights of individuals (but not the State) to act capriciously or arbitrarily—including the right of racists to discriminate.

The evil of governmental approaches to dealing with school segregation is that the government typically requires either compulsory segregation or compulsory integration, rather than allowing parents to voluntarily send their children to an integrated or segregated school of their preference. Whether the governmental policy selected is enforced segregation or enforced integration depends upon who is able to grab the reins of power at any given moment. The enforced segregation approach was widespread for many years in American schools, imposed by State legislatures in the form of "Jim Crow" laws and by State and Federal courts which upheld such laws as constitutional, primarily on the basis of the "separate but equal" doctrine. First formulated by the Massachusetts Supreme Court in a school segregation case in 1850, and adopted by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 in the infamous *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, the "separate but equal" doctrine upheld racial segregation if "equal" facilities were provided to both blacks and whites.

The vicious use of government power to enforce segregation in private spheres of conduct was upheld in many areas of the U.S., in conduct ranging from dining (many States forbad integrated restaurants) to the choice of marriage partners (miscegenation statutes banned intermarriage between blacks and whites). In the area of education, the record of government in the U.S. has been particularly dismal. In 1896, as of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* nearly 30 States (including New York and California) had enacted "separate but equal" laws applying to tax-financed public schools. In 1899, the Supreme Court held that the Federal Constitution did not forbid a local school board in Georgia from closing the black high school and refused to stop the collection of tax funds to maintain a segregated high school for white children. In 1908, the Supreme Court upheld a Kentucky statute forbidding the teaching of white and black children in the same institution and affirmed a Kentucky court's judgment imposing a fine of $1,000 on Berea College for violating the statute. Not until 1954 did the United States Supreme Court overturn the "separate but equal" rule of *Plessy v. Ferguson* and prohibit racial segregation in tax-financed public schools. Even after 1954, the "neighborhood school" system has perpetuated segregation in public schools in many cities, and has since led to a traumatic effort to forcibly integrate by the use of compulsory busing in some communities.

Given the historical treatment of minorities by Federal and State governments in the United States, one might expect contemporary liberals to be skeptical of expanding government power in the area of race relations. Moreover, restraint as to governmental power on the part of liberals should seemingly stem from the recognition of many liberals that, at least in certain areas, the government should not impose upon all citizens the moral views of some of them. For example, most liberals demand that the government not intrude in the area of consensual adult conduct involving religion, drugs, pornography, gambling and sex. We doubt that many liberals would object to the right of a Catholic school to discriminate against non-Catholics, or a Black Muslim school to discriminate against non-adherents. However, at the same time that many liberals call for a sound laissez faire policy in selected areas, they inconsistently demand that the government impose their own moral views in the area of racial discrimination. Surely, liberals should recognize that the argument for government to intrude itself into the area of private racial discrimination is based upon the same premise that would justify government censorship of pornography, or criminalization of the possession or sale of marijuana.

On the other hand, although conservatives generally articulate a belief in personal liberty, the fact is that the expansion of government power in the United States has been given great impetus by the demand of conservatives to impose criminal sanctions for private, consensual conduct involving gambling, drug use, pornography and adult sexual activity. In looking at the effect conservatives have had on the growth of government power, it is instructive to look at a 1974 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas,* which upheld the constitutionality of a local ordinance restricting the right of the owner of

(concluded on page 52)

World War II buffs and revisionists:

FINALLY a fairminded look at the America First Committee

The America First Committee has generally been viewed as an expression of conservative Midwestern isolationism. Yet the New York chapter, headquarters for the Northeastern wing, was heterogeneous, urbane, and sophisticated. Led by noted journalist John T. Flynn, the New Yorkers included prominent writers and professors, and the politics of its leaders ran from socialist to oldfashioned liberal to conservative.

Previous studies of America First overlook the unique character of the Northeastern flank and thus present an inaccurate picture of the anti-war movement in 1940 and 1941. Likewise, the only major analysis of John Thomas Flynn to date slights his innovative role as an America First leader. Now Michele Stenehjem fills in the gaps.

Dr. Stenehjem pays particular attention to the smear campaign to color the Committee anti-Semitic and pro-fascist. The barrage led Flynn to undertake his own investigation of the media and the interventionist committees in the U.S. "He concluded," reports the author, "that the motion-picture industry, the major radio networks, most of the press, and the pro-war associations were dominated by Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Official English sources supplied interventionist propaganda, according to Flynn, and a tightly knit cabal within the American media and pro-war committees distributed it in response to threats and coercion from the White House."

Many scoffed at Flynn's conspiracy thesis at the time, but memoirs by British officials, written long after the war, confirm many of his findings. President Roosevelt, it is now known, wrote *Yale Review* editor Wilbur Cross that "John Flynn . . . should be barred hereafter from the columns of any presentable daily paper, monthly magazine, or national quarterly." About this time, Flynn was dropped as a contributor by the *New Republic, Collier's, Harper's,* and the Scripps-Howard newspapers.

An American First is a pioneering study of an early victim of the media, and of the movement he did so much to shape.

They were smeared— because they put America First

- John T. Flynn and Socialist leader Norman Thomas agree—on FDR
- Flynn tackles the "citadel of interventionism": New York and the Northeast
- New York businessmen: why they were so afraid to be against the war
- Did a deal exist between the movie industry and the Roosevelt Administration?
- Opinion polls: how accurate? Dartmouth professor exposes blatant bias in the Gallup poll
- Was Britain poor-mouthing to its naive American cousin?
- Did most of the Committee money come from industrialists?
- America Firster Amos Pinchot finds FDR indulging in an orgy of "promise-eating"—and his favorites are promises *"a la king"*
- Hollywood blacklists America Firster Lillian Gish
- How to whip up war hysteria
- The Lindbergh controversies
- Senator Nye's explosive remarks about film executives, directors, actors
- A 3-day monitor of four New York radio stations reveals 127 pro-war and 6 anti-war broadcasts
- New Deal: prelude to fascism?
- America First's failure to perceive the growing crisis with Japan
- Naked press bias, from *PM* to *Life*
- Flynn's favorite sign—painted on top of a corset company
- Lend-Lease: America First calls it "the war-dictatorship bill"
- John Dewey joins the smear brigade, but Norman Thomas stands firm
- Ignored: Flynn's warning about Communists in the Roosevelt Administration
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- Lindbergh volunteers — and FDR sneers
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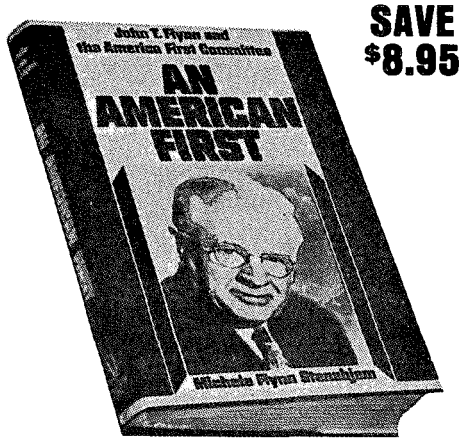

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LETTERS

(continued from page 6)

Contrary to what is unfortunately purveyed by otherwise correct and well-intentioned spokesmen—Rene Baxter being a conspicuous example—it is next to impossible today for a person to attack successfully the substantive content or issues in an existing statute on the books, particularly in a lower court, before judge or jury. All tax resisters and unorthodox medical practitioners have found this out to their sorrow: even if they get a jury trial the judge will not allow the jury to consider a constitutional argument based on philosophical principles, however accurately stated, one like our Founding Fathers were accustomed to hearing win in court. Anyone who has read Spooner's *Essay on Trial by Jury* knows that there is little or no chance for a natural law argument to overturn a statist statute today. Resisters will exhaust their *procedural* due process remedies and the boot of the tyrant will fall. One would hope they would stop wasting their time and resources and concentrate on re-educating the public about the nature of justice and why there is so little of it today.

Murray Rothbard is to be thanked for exposing the U.S. support given to the phony "pro-Western" factions in Angola. The presence of the Soviet-backed M.P.L.A. only gave our government the excuse to fuel the forces under Communist Holden Roberto. The fate of Angola would have been the same either way. Rothbard was a bit amiss by referring to Roberto's record in the early 1960's as one of "mass rapes against Portuguese women in northern Angola." What began under his leadership on the morning on March 15, 1961, was the killing and dismembering of a thousand whites and about eight thousand blacks. At least Rothbard was right about one particular "cold war" historical matter, the fact that "there is not a dime's worth of difference between any of the three factions." In fact, before being sent in 1960 to Moscow, Prague, and Leipzig, for Soviet training in guerrilla warfare, Roberto had formed the Angola People's Union, which absorbed the Angola Communist party. (See: *Reader's Digest,* November, 1961; *New York Times,* March 20, 1961, p. 3; and Bernardo Teixeira, *The Fabric of Terror,* New York: Devin-Adair, 1965.)

Bill McIlhany
Newport Beach, CA

S. S. RESISTANCE

It would appear that the April issue is almost a one-firm issue, as 50 percent of the lead articles originated in the same law firm. Tsk. Members of the same firm tend to use each others' research, and hence tend to come up with similar approaches.

I should point out that Mr. Bergland's assertion that the benefits of Social(ist) (In)security exemption are available to the Amish alone is simply not true. In fact, there is a very strong case to be made that they are generally available to *anyone* who objects to government insurance programs. *No* case of a non-Amish filing exemption has ever been brought to the Supreme Court, and in one case, the IRS has simply failed to prosecute, thereby allowing the self-exemptee to walk away. He is still not paying.

The case that exemption is generally available is based on close parallels to Conscientious Objector cases in the draft. The original law made C.O. status available only to Quakers, but in *Seeger v. U.S.,* the court held that this rule established a religion, and ruled that C.O. status was available to all. In *Welch v. U.S.,* the court held that C.O. status was available to those who objected to a particular war, not just to war in general: i.e., you didn't have to be a pacifist in order to claim C.O. status.

I am surprised that neither Bergland nor Martin mentioned one of the best defenses in a criminal case (also a good, but not great, defense in civil cases): the utter confusion of the tax codes. To illustrate; in *Bersten v. U.S.,* the 5th Circuit Court observed that the IRS code is so complicated that even the lawyers don't know it. In *U.S. v. Martin,* Martin failed to file because he read on the Form 1040, "Attach check here and mail in," and assumed that that meant that he was required to send the payment in with the return. Since he didn't have enough money in his checking account, he didn't send in the return on time. The 7th Circuit upheld him.

No, come to think of it, I shouldn't be surprised that neither Bergland nor Martin mentioned this. The IRS law is so damned complicated that the lawyers *don't* know it. Neither do the bureaucrats, and therein lies our advantage: we have to use their ignorance on them.

Charles Curley
Los Angeles, CA

Mr. Bergland replies: It appears that Mr. Curley missed the point and purpose of my article. In particular, if he will reread the portion on the Social Security exemption, he will note that I do comment on the unconstitutionality of the present law. I hasten to assure Mr. Curley and anyone else who is interested that I am fully aware of the constitutional arguments for broadening the religious exemption from Social Security taxes from its present limited statutory status to include anyone who desires exemption on principled philosophical grounds. The point of my article is that under the present statutory scheme, anyone who applies for the exemption who does not meet the very narrow statutory requirements, will have his request for exemption denied. It will then be up to the individual involved to take the challenge to the courts himself. What one can do in this regard is largely determined by whether one is an employee (whose employer is obligated to withhold the Social Security tax) or whether one is self-employed so that he can refuse to pay and make the government come after him. The latter individual is in a better position to make the constitutional challenge with his money in his own pocket. More power to him. The purpose of my article was to make sure that such individuals understand the very considerable risk of criminal prosecution. As a legal counselor I would not want to advise a person to violate the terms of a criminal statute even though I thought the statute was unconstitutional. If Mr. Curley wants to advise someone to do so, perhaps he should do it himself first, to demonstrate how confident he is of his own ability to predict the outcome.

Mr. Curley's suggestion that the complexity of the tax laws is a worthwhile defense to criminal prosecution for violating the tax laws is another piece of advice that I would not recommend to anyone whose friendship I value. Most courts still follow the adage that "ignorance of the law is no excuse," even the unreasonably complex tax laws. One must remember that the crimes under the tax law are not that complex or numerous, e.g., willful failure to file, filing false information, failure to provide information, etc. Although I have not specifically researched the point, I feel reasonably confident that damn near every defendant criminally prosecuted under the tax laws has included as part of his defense an argument based on his ability to understand his obligations. In fact, one is better off if he seeks advice of counsel, violates the law, and then argues that he thought he was okay because he acted on advice of counsel. The Court's view is that the taxpayer has the obligation to inform himself and if he makes such an effort, he will be dealt with more leniently.

I would like to conclude by saying that in my experience, most tax lawyers and accountants are not terribly imaginative when it comes to taking on the tax laws in an aggressive manner. Many good ideas have come from laymen who could afford the luxury of plunging ahead in ignorance

of the full complexity of the government bramble bush. For one, I am grateful for any good idea regardless of its source, particularly if it helps to undermine the tax extraction system. However, I still maintain that circumspection is good advice and when it comes to the tax laws, most laymen are not sufficiently circumspect. **–D.P.B.**

PRO-NATALISM

The anti-reproduction crusading of Ellen Peck ("Spotlight," April) may be commendable inasmuch as it may allow for a more free choice among individuals as to whether to have children or not, but the results of such successful campaigns will be so noxious that I am moved to write and raise a dissenting voice.

There is very little doubt that Peck's exhortations not to reproduce are popular today, especially among the more educated of our population: in America today we are rapidly approaching that demographic nirvana of "zero population growth;" the idea of having children *at all* is under heavy attack, and any joy in having and raising is denigrated to the point of non-existence.

In the meantime, the rest of the world's population is virtually exploding at an *increasing* rate; demographers tell us that the point where mass famine and destruction can be avoided in the latter part of this century has *already* passed, and the areas of the world where this destructive trend is occurring *least* are among the world's most advanced and educated societies, such as Western Europe. America can be seen as a microcosm of this trend: while the educated classes—that is, the classes that provide the thinkers, the producers, those who "get things done" in our society—drastically decrease their reproduction rate, guess who is reproducing at a much *higher* rate? You guessed it, the portions of the population that don't "produce," don't read and don't take part in the fashionable anti-reproduction crusades of the upper classes.

It doesn't take a group of socially conscious academics to see what the results of such demographic changes will be. If we are willing to grant that any intelligence or problem-solving abilities are genetically inheritable *at all,* the result will be a net *decrease* in a civilization's ability to successfully meet and solve its problems. And in the age of the "global village," the problems of "civilizations" are the problems of the entire earth. Yet, as a result of Peck's and others' fashionable crusades against reproduction—effective almost exclusively among the more productive segments of society—we may well be committing a kind of genetic suicide, a retrogression in our species' ability to intelligently cope with existence.

I also find the assertion that our society condemns childlessness laughable, especially among the intelligentsia. I can only wonder where the author of "Spotlight" was getting her or his information. One can readily understand newspaper carriers of Peck's advice-to-teenagers columns dropping her exhortations: advising open thought as to whether to reproduce is one thing; urging young teenagers affirmatively *not* to reproduce is totally different, and one-sided. In addition, if our society is so "pro-natally" oriented, why the best-selling status of her anti-reproduction book, *The Baby Trap?*

In fact, in the April 1976 issue of *Harper's Magazine,* author Michael Novak perceptively observes that, "Choosing to have a family used to be uninteresting. It is, today, an act of intelligence and courage. To love family life, to see in family life the most potent moral, intellectual, and political cell in the body politic is to be marked today as a heretic."

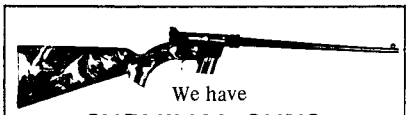
What? Could it be that today, in actuality, choosing to have children and a family brings forth reactions exactly the *opposite* from those postulated by the last REASON "Spotlight"? Yes, in fact, it *could* be. It is.

Novak goes on to analyze the reason for this anti-natal attitude among the current American intelligentsia: "At an advanced state capitalism imparts enormous centrifugal forces to the souls of those who have the most internalized its values; and these forces shear marriages and families apart.

"To insist, in the face of such forces, that marriage and family still express our highest moral ideals, is to awaken hostility and opposition."

Whether we care to admit it or not, these current societal attitudes have extreme import for libertarians. Although Novak can hardly be termed a libertarian, he places the point of a sharp analytical knife squarely on the center of the question, for libertarians: "It is difficult to believe that the state is a better instrument for satisfying such human needs than the family. . . Millions of dollars are spent on the creation of a larger and larger state apparatus. Resources are systematically taken from the family. Is that an accident? One by one, all centers of resistance to the state are being crushed, including the strongest, family. The trend does not augur well for our liberties."

Indeed, it seems clear that the incubational center of opposition to the State is the family: parents begetting children and inculcating them with values in diametrical opposition to those acceptable to the State. Thus, the family may turn out to be the last and strongest institutional bastion of



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REASON'S COMMENT OF THE MONTH

The letter below, by subscriber Michael E. Coughlin, appeared in the April 10, 1976 issue of the *Minneapolis Star:*

POSTAL SERVICE ALTERNATIVES

If the U.S. Postal Service provides us with the superb service that it says it does, a service it claims it alone is equipped to give for what it keeps telling us are "bargain" prices, then why does it have to be protected by laws which forbid anybody to compete with it?

For those of us who are not post office employees, the answer is obvious. Without those laws it would be driven out of existence by private businesses that would give this country the kind of service it deserves.

For anybody who cares to examine the record, it was private mail carriers operating in flagrant opposition to the government postal monopoly that again and again forced the government mail service in both England and America to cut its postal rates. It was private concerns that first brought covenient, inexpensive city mail delivery to England.

After the United States had suffered through more than a half century of disastrous and expensive government mail service, some daring and enterprising Americans decided this country had had enough. Beginning around 1840, these Americans started a host of private mail services and within five years they had captured such a commanding share of the country's mail business that the post office was on the verge of collapse. It was saved from this fate by congressional action which both reduced the government's postal rates to a level competitive with what the private carriers were charging and banned all private mail services.

By the government's own admission, it overcharges first-class mail users to help subsidize its more favored customers. And the post office calls that "service." I call it robbery.

When millions of pieces of mail and thousands upon thousands of parcel post packages are lost or destroyed by the post office itself, the post office excuses itself by saying that it hasn't yet perfected its equipment and its mail delivery system. How many more centuries will it need before we can expect decent service?

Michael E. Coughlin
Secretary
Minnesota Libertarian Society
St. Paul, MN

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anti-statism, one so important that in its absence opposition to Big Brother will eventually die out.

Do we want that? Are we willing to accept the enjoyable hedonism urged upon us by modern post-industrial society along with the sure knowledge that the idea of freedom and opposition to the Omnipotent State will die? Will we complacently watch such opposition wither on the vine of our own perceived enjoyment of "freedom"—freedom from nurturing the generation that must carry the torch one lap farther?

If that be so, live with it. I propose not to let this happen. I intend someday to bear, nurture and socialize my own children into a mold that holds individual freedom and responsibility for one's own existence as the highest of ideals. This, to me, is obviously the only hope for the future. And for future generations.

Timothy Condon
Gainesville, FL

BREADTH OF INTEREST

This is just a short note to heartily support Ms. Winokur who calls for more breadth in her letter in the April issue.

For my part, I would like to see diminished coverage of the activities of the Libertarian Party, whose activities strike me as naive, self-serving, boring. Look out, Libertarians! Like any special-interest group, the hustlers can and will find you easy targets!

With any special-interest and/or idealistic group, all they have to do is make the proper noises to gain credibility. ("Liz Carmichel" and the "20th Century Motor Works" comes to mind.) I must admit that some of the writings of a few of the leaders of the LP have that sort of superficial gloss that resembles the output of individuals that are politicians first and libertarians second.

Last, I must cast my vote in sympathy with readers Dunn and Caldwell in their condemnation of the "You can profit from the coming mideast war" ad. I have read the ad, and it belongs in *Soldiers of Fortune* magazine rather than REASON. Your faith in libertarian human nature as expressed in your reply does not match mine. I think there will be a tendency for any individual to encourage, whenever possible, any situation upon which he makes a profit. This is known as "warmongering." I have mongered a little myself over the last ten years, and made a lot of money from, for example, the Vietnam conflict. I must admit, from what I have seen, profiting from human misery does not have beneficial effects on the outlook of anyone. (One does not have to sell arms to support a war—one could vote for pro-war candidates, for instance, or one could support pro-war economic policies, etc.)

Rev. E. John DeHaven
Wayzata, MN

ROTHBARD VERSUS GREENSPAN

When Richard Nixon appointed Objectivist Alan Greenspan chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers in July 1974, Murray Rothbard penned a confident denunciation in advance (REASON, Sept. 1974). He predicted Greenspan would have no "appreciable free-market effect on government policy," but would end up defending statist measures from conservative and libertarian critics. Using the behavior of Nixon's earlier economists as an example, Rothbard declared the whole strategy of getting libertarians into positions of power a failure, and called instead for mass action from the bottom. "It will be instructive for all of us to keep close tabs on Greenspan in high office," he wrote.

It has been. The *Wall Street Journal* reported on March 31 that Greenspan "has become the top economic policy adviser in the Ford Administration . . . and one of the most influential chairmen in the coun-

cil's 30-year history." It credited Greenspan with "successfully urging" Ford to veto a $6.2 billion public-works law, with successfully opposing Rockefeller's plans for national health insurance, and for trying, but failing, to get Ford to veto the extension of price controls on oil.

Naturally, Greenspan didn't achieve any basic libertarian reforms in the economy, nor could he be expected to. But if he convinced Ford to block the measures listed by the *Journal,* then he's done a lot more immediately to change public policy than any other libertarian alive, including Murray Rothbard.

Rothbard ought to re-evaluate his strategy, which rules out a course of action Greenspan has made pay practical dividends. Perhaps also he should re-evaluate the tendency in his column to predict disasters and to crow estatically when they happen. At least he ought to own up that he was wrong about Alan Greenspan.

Bruce Ramsey
Berkeley, CA

LIBERTARIAN PARTY ISSUES

Precisely because REASON is NOT a publication of the Libertarian Party and has so far aired all views represented within the LP, I want to suggest the following.

I believe it would be a great service to all libertarians to dedicate one entire issue of REASON to the various controversies at present under discussion. Most of us are not as aware of these issues as we would like to be, and I for one am left with an uneasy feeling that I would gladly be rid of. To put it simply: the Libertarian Party qua political organization is simply not viable, regardless of the valuable effort put forth by many of its members. I believe this is primarily due to a lack of definition, or to the need many of its members feel to avoid internal confrontation. Thus, no real issues can be pursued, and no issues can be really pursued. To be viable, a political party must make its imprint on the society within which it has chosen to operate. To make an imprint, it must be able to speak out and act on the issues of the day, with the full support of its membership. This is especially true for a "party of principle."

Principles that can only be expressed in philosophical terms are quite useless in the political arena. We must start addressing ourselves to the solutions to those problems on which we have a principled stand, or abandon the pretense of being a political party, and revert to a debating society. Note that there is not a thing wrong with

(continued on page 56)

James M. Buchanan Milton Friedman
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NONPUBLIC SCHOOL AID: THE LAW, ECONOMICS, AND POLITICS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

E. G. West, Carleton University

The opening essay by E. G. West sets the problem in the context of recent Supreme Court verdicts on government attempts in the 1970s to aid parochial schools. Attention is focused on public and family benefits of education, education taxes paid by families, and reformation of educational financing. Each of the contributors reacts to Professor West's ideas; West, in turn, replies to each of them in a unique volume that resembles a classical disputation. The book, which grew out of a 1974 conference arranged by the Center for Independent Education, concludes with a brilliant new essay by Professor West: "The Philosophical and Historical Interpretation of the First Amendment."

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TRENDS

POSTAL COMPETITION PROGRESS

New competition for the government's Postal Service is emerging every month, making further inroads into delivery of magazines and newspapers (second-class mail, where competition is legal) and chipping away at delivery of first-class mail (where competition is still outlawed by the private express statutes). From its headquarters in Riverside, CA, Inland Carriers has been providing same-day delivery of the *Wall Street Journal* in Southern California and parts of Arizona and Nevada since 1972. In November 1974 it began delivering *The Reader's Digest,* with volume now approaching 100,000 copies and expected to reach 200,000 per month by next summer. Inland has just begun delivering *Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News & World Report* in the Fullerton, CA area. The company keeps costs low by using relatively unskilled labor at $3/hour for adults and $2.35/hour for teenagers.

One of the growing invasions of the first-class mail market is utility bill delivery. Peoples Gas Co. of Chicago now delivers over 1.5 million utility bills each year, using its own force of high school age delivery boys, many of whom are from low-income neighborhoods. Deliveries average 9¢ each, compared with 13¢ for first-class mail. The Georgia Power Co. estimates it will save $400,000 this year by delivering a portion of its bills itself.

But the boldest challenge to date is shaping up in the small city of Pittsburg, KS. There, since March 9, a company known as Alternate Systems Inc. has been openly competing with the Postal Service in delivering first-class mail. It guarantees that any local mail brought in by 9 A.M. will be delivered by that same afternoon. Further, Alternate Systems charges only 6.5¢ per letter (5¢ each in quantities of 100 or more). So far the company has 12 delivery employees, plus the owner, Robert Black, and his wife and mother-in-law, who run the office. Black's lawyer, Lou Barney, says he is convinced that the private express statutes are unconstitutional, and the company is prepared to challenge the Postal Service in court. Such a battle may not be long in coming, since the postal authorities have already concluded an investigation and turned the results over to the U.S. Attorney's office for prosecution.

SOURCES:

- "Mail Service Competition Rising," *New York Times,* April 18, 1976.
- "Deliverer Facing Action as Flouter of Postal Law," *Ibid.*

FIGHTING BUREAUCRACY

Two proposals aimed at resisting the ever-growing dominance of government bureaucracies have been enacted into law, one in Florida and the other in Colorado. The Florida law is the Economic Impact Disclosure Act, drafted by three libertarian economists at the University of Miami's Law and Economics Center (see "Spotlight," May 1976, p. 40). The law requires that every state agency justify by established cost-benefit methods any action that might have "substantial economic impact on any person." It requires that the action be shown to be legal, to be the least-cost method for achieving the stated purpose, to be more cost-effective than the alternative of no action, and to represent the most efficient use of public and private resources. The Act was passed by the 1975 legislature, vetoed by Gov. Reuben Askew, and resurrected this year by legislative over-ride of the veto. A 48-page monograph tracing the history and effects of government regulation and containing both the text of the Florida law and an improved model law is available from the Center (see below).

In Colorado, the proposed Sunset Law (see "Trends," May 1976, p. 34) has been passed by the Legislature and signed into law by Gov. Richard Lamm. The law limits every agency or program to a life of six years, after which it will be abolished if its functions and effectiveness cannot be established. The first set of agencies coming up for review, in 1977, will include those licensing and regulating barbers, cosmetologists, and shorthand reporters. The Colorado Legislature has already abolished agencies which licensed midwives and ore buyers.

SOURCES:

- "Legal and Economic Evaluation of Impact Statement Requirements for Regulatory Agencies," Roger LeRoy Miller and James S. Mofsky, Law and Economics Center, University of Miami, April 1976 (P.O. Box 248087, Coral Gables, FL 33124; $2.00).
- "Colorado Reigns in Bureaucracy," AP (Denver), April 23, 1976.

FREEING SCHOOLS

Vermonters have won new freedom from the near-monopoly of public schools and the state's Education Department, thanks to an April ruling of the state Supreme Court. The court ruled that children who attend an "alternate" school cannot be judged truant, even though the school in question has not been approved by the Department of Education. Essentially, the court clarified the meaning of Vermont's truancy law (which requires children to be provided with an education "equivalent" to that of the public schools). The Supreme Court made it clear that equivalency is *not* synonymous with approval by the Education Department. Since truancy is a criminal matter, the burden of proof is on the prosecution to prove that a private school is not offering equivalent education. It is not sufficient merely to cite non-approval by the Department of Education.

The ruling has raised howls of protest from the Department, which considers the state's truancy law "thoroughly confused and compromised" by the ruling. But it has caused much rejoicing among parents, children, and operators of private schools, who now need not worry about going through the lengthy, nit-picky, bureaucratic approval process (unless they wish to qualify for state aid programs).

SOURCES:

- "Court Ruling Jars Board of Education," *Rutland Herald,* April 7, 1976.
- "Supreme Court Ruling Opens Up Truancy Issue," *Ibid.*

REFORM IN THE AIR

Each month brings further progress toward deregulating commercial aviation, and April offered a number of significant developments. The forum was the Senate Commerce subcommittee on aviation. During April the subcommittee heard testimony from a parade of witnesses, with all those from the Federal government favoring increased competition and reduced regulation, while those from the airline industry ranged from defense of the status quo to half-hearted pleas to go slow on making changes.

Leading off the witnesses were two cabinet officers: Transportation Secretary William Coleman and Treasury Secretary William Simon. Both urged Congress to adopt the administration's phased deregulation proposal, so as to allow aviation to enter the competitive world. But the surprising testimony came from the Civil Aeronautics Board's own chairman, John Robson. Agreeing with CAB critics, Robson admitted that his agency's regulations had forced up air fares unnecessarily, and asked Congress to cut the agency's powers. In an attempt to retain some CAB control during deregulation, Robson offered the CAB's own plan for introducing pricing

flexibility and liberalized entry and exit from the market. Robson also agreed that the present Federal Aviation Act "represented a major exception to the general principle of competitive freedom," and that in the CAB's view, "reliance on natural market forces for air transport is achievable and holds out the best long-term possibilities for continued fulfillment of the public's need for air travel." Robson's testimony, supported unanimously by the CAB board, so impressed the subcommittee's chairman, Sen. Howard Cannon, that he announced plans to push for regulatory reform during the present session of Congress. It had previously been thought unlikely that any bill would be enacted prior to the November elections.

In an interesting footnote to the Senate hearings, further evidence of the viability of competition was provided in Texas. Southwest Airlines, an aggressive intrastate carrier not regulated by the CAB, has filed an application with the Texas Aeronautics Commission to extend service to the cities of Austin, Corpus Christi, El Paso, and Midland/Odessa, at fares up to 42 percent less than the regular coach fares of CAB-regulated carriers (and up to 65 percent off evening and weekend fares). Southwest would be competing with five CAB-regulated airlines in offering the new service.

SOURCES:
- "Airlines' Plight Blamed on Regulations," AP (Washington), April 8, 1976.
- "CAB Asks Congress to Cut Its Powers," *Ibid.* April 9, 1976.
- "Airlines May Lose Some Protective Cover," *Business Week*, April 26, 1976, p. 35.
- "Key Senator to Push Regulatory Reform," *Aviation Week*, April 19, 1976, p. 33.
- "Southwest Airlines Pushing Expansion," *Ibid.*, April 12, 1976, p. 32.

FORCED UNEMPLOYMENT

In 1972, 320,000 more teenagers would have had jobs, had it not been for the 1966 amendments to the Federal minimum wage laws. And the overall youth unemployment rate would have been 12.4 percent instead of 16.2 percent in that year. Thus concludes James F. Ragan in his doctoral dissertation on the effects of minimum wage legislation on teenage unemployment.

Ragan used data on employment, age, race, sex, and school enrollment status over the 1963-72 period to analyze the effects of the 1966 amendments, which raised the Federal minimum wage from $1.25 to $1.40 and expanded coverage by 25 percent. Ragan's statistical analysis shows that the increased rate and coverage are strongly correlated with the increase in teenage unemployment which then occurred, much as economic theory would predict. Forcing employers to pay them higher relative wages simply leads to a reduced number of jobs for teenagers. Any gain in employment in the remainder of the labor force is far more than offset by the loss of jobs by those who are directly affected by the minimum wage laws.

SOURCE:
- "Minimum Wage Legislation and the Youth Labor Market," James F. Ragan, Jr., Center for the Study of American Business, Jan. 1976 (Washington University, St. Louis, MO).

FREE TRADE: ONE STEP FORWARD, ONE STEP BACK

In an important trade development, President Ford has rejected the 5-1 recommendation of the International Trade Commission that higher tariffs be imposed on foreign shoes. The decision is expected to save consumers up to $1 billion a year. Ford's ruling was the first major tariff case in which the interests of U.S. consumers was the deciding factor. Now the domestic shoe industry, characterized by outmoded, labor-intensive methods, will have to adapt to foreign competition or switch to other fields of endeavor.

Unfortunately, Ford's earlier decision regarding stainless steels left much to be desired. Although rejecting an increase in steel tariffs, Ford proposed "voluntary" agreements with the Japanese and Common Market governments to limit imports, touching off fears of protectionism and trade wars. The shoe decision is expected to counteract at least some of those fears.

Two other important free trade issues surfaced recently: sugar and beef. A study prepared by the White House Council on International Economic Policy recommended against a return to government intervention in the sugar market. Since January 1975 sugar imports have been essentially free of controls, after 40 years of country-by-country import quotas. Meanwhile, many cattle producers are calling for increased restrictions on imported beef, and a bill to this effect has been introduced by Sen. Dewey Bartlett. But vocal opposition to such moves is developing. Instead of increasing import restrictions, the complete *repeal* of meat import controls has been called for by David Steinburg, president of the U.S. Council for an Open World Economy. "Quotas hurt consumers, particularly low-income consumers who can least afford them, and do not provide constructive, responsible answers to the real difficulties of the cattle industry," Steinburg has stated.

SOURCES:
- "Shoe Quotas: Walking on Air," *Los Angeles Times*, April 21, 1976.
- "Shift in U.S. Sugar Policy Unlikely, Study Indicates," UPI (Washington), Mar. 31, 1976.
- "Cattlemen Seek Tighter Curbs on Imports of Beef," AP (Washington), Mar. 16, 1976.

EFFECTS OF AD BAN

"The regulation of prescription drug price advertising, promulgated and defended by organizations representing retail pharmacists, appears to benefit pharmacists only." So begins the concluding section of Prof. John F. Cady's recent study of the effects of bans on such advertising in 34 of the nation's 50 states. The regulation of prescription drug advertising is a classic example of a legalized and government-enforced cartel, concluded Prof. Cady. And it may be costing consumers as much as $380 million per year.

Cady examined both the average retail price level and the extent of service provided by pharmacies in the regulated and unregulated states. No significant differences were found in the proportion of pharmacies offering delivery service, credit accounts, or waiting areas for prescription customers. The only service offered more frequently by regulated pharmacies was the keeping of family monitoring prescription records, but this service can also be used by the pharmacist as a means of keeping customers and discouraging price shopping. Interestingly, 76 percent of the unregulated pharmacies offered emergency prescription service, compared with only 68 percent of the regulated ones.

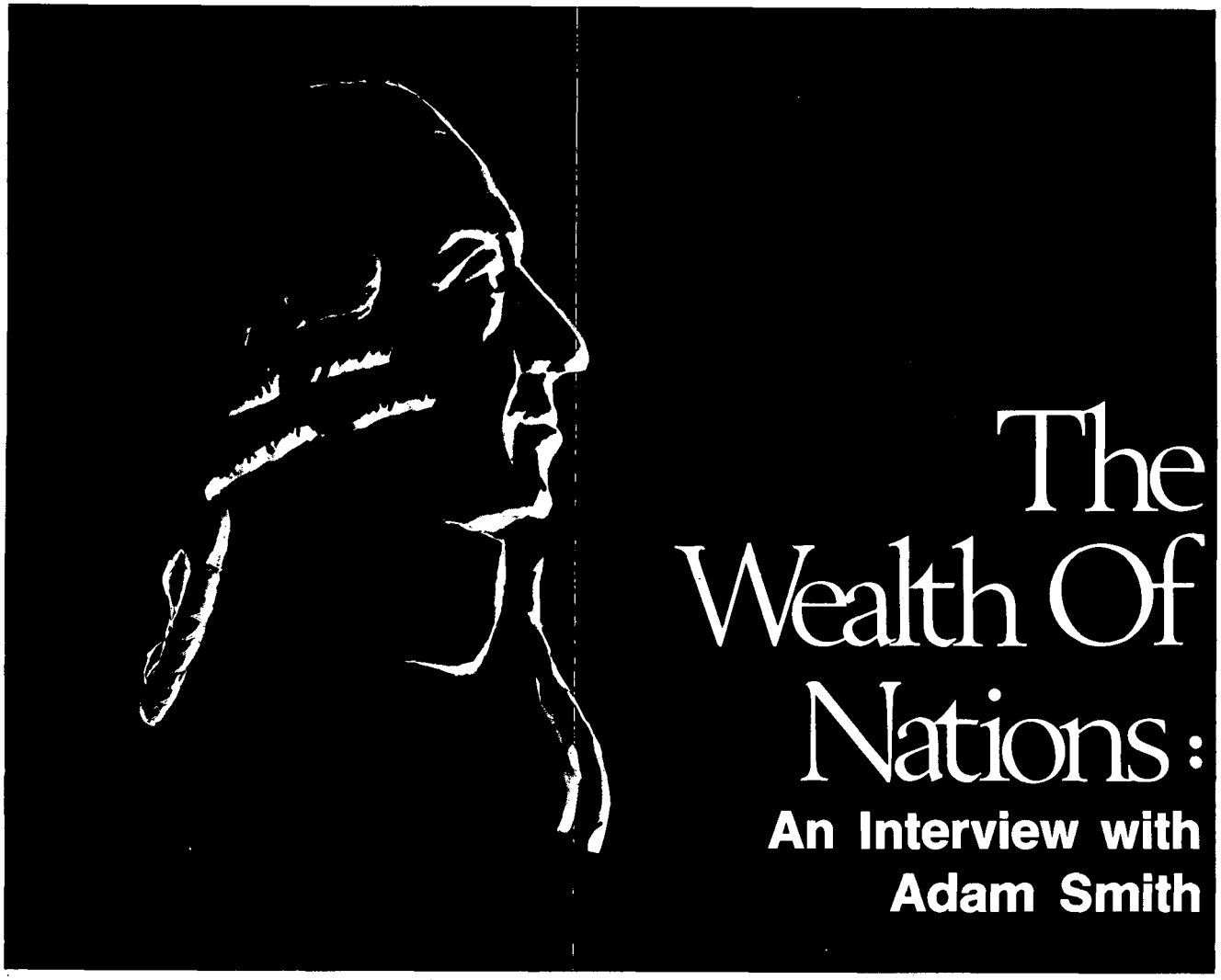
Comparing price levels, Cady found that prices in the regulated states were 5.2 percent higher (a difference which was statistically significant at the one percent level). Thus, in 1970 (the year from which the data were taken) consumers would have saved between $134 and $152 million if the regulations had not been in effect. Since prescription drug sales volume has increased 150 percent since 1970, the present cost to consumers could be as high as $380 million. The Federal Trade Commission has published for comment proposed rules that would abolish these price advertising restrictions as "unfair trade practices."

SOURCE:
- "Restricted Advertising and Competition: The Case of Retail Drugs," John F. Cady, American Enterprise Institute, 1976 (1150 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036; $1.00).

MILESTONES

- *Deficits.* A large majority of the American public favors a constitutional amendment which would require Congress to balance the Federal budget every year. Such a measure got the support of 78 percent of those polled by the Gallup organization this spring, including 84 percent of Republicans, 78 percent of Democrats, and 77 percent of independents. (Source: "Voters' Bicentennial Mood Is Fiscally Conservative," *Santa Barbara News-Press*, April 11, 1976.) ◻

This column reports trends in the advancement of individual liberty and the rediscovery of economic freedom. Readers are invited to submit material of potential interest.



The Wealth Of Nations:

An Interview with Adam Smith

Not many Americans are aware that as they celebrate the Bicentennial it is also exactly 200 years since the publication of a book whose revolutionary ideas were embodied for some years, as they never were elsewhere before or since, in the policy of the new nation. To familiarize our readers with that legacy, REASON presents in this special Bicentennial issue an interview with Dr. Adam Smith, the learned philosopher and author of that first book of modern economics, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. *The interview, suggested to her by Professor George Stigler, was conducted and prepared for publication by REASON's Book Review Editor, Marty Zupan. She found Dr. Smith a very cooperative, as well as knowledgeable and witty, participant. They agreed to confine themselves to discussing the material covered in* The Wealth of Nations, *and in fact the reader familiar with that tome will find amazing parallels between Professor Smith's words there and in the interview. Unfortunately, small portions of the interview turned out not to be transcribable, and Professor Smith was unavailable for further clarification. To assure the reader, therefore, of the authenticity of Dr. Smith's comments, portions reconstructed from Ms. Zupan's recollection of the interview are printed in italics. We hope you will enjoy meeting Professor Smith through this conversation.*

REASON: Dr. Smith, anyone with your views is today called a capitalist, which most people identify with being "on the side of" business. Would you agree with this characterization?

SMITH: *Business doesn't need me on its side!* The only encouragement industry requires is tolerable security that it shall enjoy the fruits of its own labor.

REASON: But you had some harsh words for business.

SMITH: *What I objected to was,* the sneaking arts of underling tradesmen being erected into political maxims. *I warned people that* the interest of those who live by profit is always in some respects different from and even opposite to that of the public. So the proposal of any new law or regulation of commerce which comes from this order ought always to be listened to with great precaution and ought never to be adopted till after having been long and carefully examined, not only with the most scrupulous, but with the most suspicious attention.

REASON: Many regulations of business are now advocated by consumer groups. Would you be opposed to these also?

SMITH: *Yes. They are* evident violations of natural liberty, and therefore unjust. And they are as impolitic as they are unjust. The law ought always to trust people with the care of their own interest, as in their local situations they must generally be able to judge better of it than the legislator can do.

REASON: You yourself have acknowledged that people do not always know what's in their own interest.

SMITH: *Yes.* The workman may no doubt buy too much of either the brewer or the retailer of fermented spirits, as he may of any other dealers in his neighborhood, of the butcher if he is a glutton, or of the draper if he affects to be a beau among his companions. It is advantageous to the great body of workmen, notwithstanding, that all these trades should be free, though this freedom may be abused in all of them.

REASON: It is often argued that society as a whole, or most of the people, will benefit by lower prices, safer products, more available services, and so on, and that these can only be achieved by regulation.

SMITH: *Even if that were so, such regulations* evidently sacrifice the ordinary laws of justice to an idea of public utility, to a sort of reasons of state, an act of legislative authority which ought to be exercised only, which can be pardoned only, in cases of the most urgent necessity. The persons entrusted with the great interests of the state may, even without any corrupt views, sometimes imagine it necessary to sacrifice to those interests the rights of a private man. But upon the impartial administration of justice depends the liberty of every individual.

REASON: You spoke often in your book of the necessity of a well-governed society for economic progress. Why?

SMITH: Men in a defenseless state naturally content themselves with their necessary subsistence, because to acquire more might only tempt the injustice of their oppressors. On the contrary, when they are secure of enjoying the fruits of their industry, they naturally exert it to better their condition and to acquire not only the necessaries, but the conveniences and elegancies of life.

REASON: What do you mean by well-governed?

SMITH: A society where things are left to follow their natural course, where there is perfect liberty. All systems either of preference or of restraint being completely taken away, the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself of its own accord. Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest his own way and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of men.

REASON: Wouldn't history suggest that it's too simple and obvious a system?

SMITH: Men are fond of paradoxes and of appearing to understand what surpasses the comprehension of ordinary people.

REASON: In any case, no societies even come close to that today. How would you explain the extent of economic progress that is still evident, at least in the freer countries?

SMITH: The uniform, constant, and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition, the principle from which public and national, as well as private, opulence is originally derived, is frequently powerful enough to maintain the natural progress of things toward improvement, in spite both of the extravagance of government and of the greatest errors of administration. Like the unknown principle of animal life, it frequently restores health and vigor to the constitution in spite, not only of the disease, but of the absurd prescriptions of the doctor.

REASON: How would you respond to current complaints from the less developed countries and their Western spokesmen that the extension of Western interests to their countries has involved injustice?

SMITH: *Gradually* the inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at that equality of courage and force which, by inspiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of independent nations into some sort of respect for the rights of one another. But nothing seems more likely to establish this equality of force than that mutual communication of knowledge and of all sorts of improvements which an extensive commerce from all countries to all countries naturally, or rather necessarily, carries along with it.

REASON: What do you think of the present state of England?

SMITH: Great Britain resembles one of those unwholesome bodies in which some of the vital parts are overgrown and which, upon that account, are liable to many dangerous disorders scarce incident to those in which all the parts are more properly proportioned. A small stop in that great blood vessel which has been artificially swelled beyond its natural dimen-

sions is very likely to bring on the most dangerous disorders upon the whole body politic.

REASON: What is your reaction to recent suggestions that the cure of inflation is for citizens to tighten their belts?

SMITH: It is the highest impertinence and presumption in kings and ministers to pretend to watch over the economy of private people and to restrain their expenses. They are themselves always and without any exception the greatest spendthrifts in the society. Let them look well after their own expense and they may safely trust private people with theirs. If their own extravagance does not ruin the state, that of their subjects never will.

REASON: Perhaps your most famous idea, even though it occurs only once in your book, is that of the invisible hand. Could you explain the context in which you used the expression?

SMITH: *Yes, I was objecting to the idea that* regulation of commerce can increase the quantity of industry in any society beyond what its capital can maintain. It *can* divert a part of it into a direction into which it might not otherwise have gone, but it is by no means certain that this artificial direction is likely to be more advantageous. *So I pointed out that, for various reasons,* upon equal or nearly equal profits, every wholesale merchant naturally prefers the home-trade to the foreign trade of consumption, and the latter to the carrying trade. As every individual, therefore, endeavors as much as he can both to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value, every individual necessarily labors to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. *But, I said,* generally neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security, and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.

REASON: Would it be better if people paid more attention to others' interests?

SMITH: *On the contrary,* by pursuing his own interest a person frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good.

REASON: From Plato to Marx, though, people have argued that we would be better off if there were more sharing and less acquisitiveness.

SMITH: *But it is because* in civilized society man stands at all times in need of the cooperation and assistance of great multitudes *that he relies on others' self-interest.* Man sometimes endeavors by every servile and fawning attention to engage his brethren to act according to his inclinations, but he doesn't have time to do this upon every occasion. His whole life is scarce sufficient to gain the friendship of a few persons. It is in vain for man to expect the help of his brethren from their benevolence only. He will be more likely to prevail if he can interest their self-love in his favor and show them that it is for their own advantage to do for him what he requires of them. It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity, but their self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages.

REASON: Is this a lamentable fact of the human condition?

SMITH: *No. No.* Nobody but a beggar chooses to depend chiefly upon the benevolence of his fellow citizens.

REASON: Nevertheless, people have come to think of business dealings as therefore base and crass—you yourself contrast self-love and humanity.

SMITH: *But I have also said that* commerce ought naturally to be a bond of union and friendship.

REASON: Do you hold that it is good, or merely tolerable for its good effects on others, that people pursue their own interest?

SMITH: *People might have taken a clue from a passage in my book where I said that* ancient moral philosophy proposed to investigate wherein consisted the happiness and perfection of a man, considered not only as an individual, but as the member of a family, of a state, and of the great society of mankind. In that philosophy the duties of human life were treated of as subservient to the happiness and perfection of human life. But when moral, as well as natural philosophy, came to be taught only as subservient to theology, the duties of human life were treated of as chiefly subservient to the happiness of a life to come. In the ancient philosophy the perfection of virtue was represented as necessarily productive, to the person who possessed it, of the most perfect happiness in this life. In the modern philosophy it was frequently represented as almost always inconsistent with any degree of happiness in this life, and heaven was to be earned only by penance and

mortification, not by the liberal, generous, and spirited conduct of a man. By far the most important of all the different branches of philosophy became in this manner by far the most corrupted.

REASON: Do you see it as an objection to capitalism that it gives rise to great fortunes and thus inequality of power?

SMITH: The authority of riches is perhaps greatest in the rudest age of society. A Tartar chief, the increase of whose herds and flocks is sufficient to maintain a thousand men, cannot well employ that increase in any other way. Since the thousand men whom he thus maintains depend entirely upon him for their subsistence, they must obey his orders in war and submit to his jurisdiction in peace. In an opulent and civilized society a man may possess a much greater fortune and yet not be able to command a dozen people. Though the produce of his estate may maintain more than a thousand people, yet as those people pay for everything which they get from him, as he gives scarce anything to anybody but in exchange for an equivalent, there is scarce anybody who considers himself as entirely dependent upon him, and his authority extends only over a few menial servants.

REASON: Many contemporary advocates of the free market believe that individual liberty requires that there be *no* government. . . .

SMITH: *I do not agree.* The liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind can flourish only where civil government is able to protect them. *It is quite clear that* commerce and manufactures can seldom flourish long in any state which does not enjoy a regular administration of justice, in which the people do not feel themselves secure in the possession of their property, in which the faith of contracts is not supported by law, and in which the authority of the state is not supposed to be regularly employed in enforcing the payment of debts.

REASON: What do you think are the proper functions of government?

SMITH: According to the system of natural liberty, the government has only three duties to attend to, three duties of great importance, indeed, but plain and intelligible to common understandings: the duty of protecting the society from the violence and invasion of other societies; the duty of protecting every member of the society from the injustice of oppression of every other member of it, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice; and the duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and institutions.

REASON: That's more than some present-day laissez-fairists would have, but certainly a far cry from the mammoth governments of the 20th century. But why, for example, do you think defense requires a state?

SMITH: Protecting the society from the violence of other societies can be performed only by means of a military force. The division of labor is as necessary for the improvement of the art of war as of every other art. Into other arts the division of labor is naturally introduced by the prudence of individuals. But it is the wisdom of the state only which can render the trade of a soldier separate and distinct from all others. A private citizen who, in time of profound peace and without any particular encouragement from the public, should spend the greater part of his time in military exercises might, no doubt, both improve himself very much in them and amuse himself very well, but he certainly would not promote his own interest. It is the wisdom of the state only which can render it for his interest to give up the greater part of his time to this occupation.

REASON: Isn't a military perhaps the most dangerous arm of the state to its own citizens?

SMITH: Men of republican principles have *always* been jealous of a standing army as dangerous to liberty. It certainly is so wherever the interest of the general and that of the principal officers are not necessarily connected with the support of the constitution of the state. But where the military force is placed under the command of those who have the greatest interest in the support of the civil authority, because they have themselves the greatest share of that authority, a standing army can never be dangerous to liberty.

REASON: Why do you maintain that the government must provide other services besides protection of individuals?

SMITH: Because there are certain works which it can never be for the interest of any individual, or small number of individuals, to erect and maintain, because the profit could never repay the expense to any individual, or small number of individuals, though it may infrequently do much more than repay it to a great society.

REASON: That's a fairly standard argument in economics by now. But what would you include in this category?

SMITH: The works and institutions required are chiefly those for facilitating the commerce of the society—good roads, bridges, navigable canals, harbors, etc.—and those for promoting the instruction of the people.

REASON: You are in favor of public education?

SMITH: *Yes, although* those parts of education for the teaching of which there are no public institutions are generally the best taught.

REASON: If it is better accomplished privately, why do you include education among the functions of government?

SMITH: Because in the progress of the division of labor the employment of most people comes to be confined to a few very simple operations. The man whose whole life is spent that way generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the interests of his country he is altogether incapable of judging. In free countries, where the safety of government depends very much upon the favorable judgment which the people may form of its conduct, it must surely be of the highest importance that they should not be disposed to judge rashly or capriciously concerning it.

REASON: Yet you do not deny that this is offset by some of the consequences of having public education?

SMITH: *No. In particular,* the diligence of public teachers is more or less corrupted by the circumstances which render them more or less independent of their success and reputation in their particular professions. *That is why I propose that* the public facilitate the acquisition of the most essential parts of education by establishing in every district a little school where children may be taught for a reward so moderate that even a common laborer may afford it, the master being partly, but not wholly paid by the public.

REASON: Should such education be compulsory?

SMITH: No, but the public can impose upon people the necessity of acquiring those most essential parts of education by obliging every man to undergo an examination or probation in them before he can vote or be allowed to set up any trade.

REASON: How would you propose that the other functions of government be financed?

SMITH: Well, the judicial authority of a sovereign, *for example,* far from being a cause of expense, was for a long time a source of revenue to him. The persons who applied to him for justice were always willing to pay for it. But this scheme could scarce fail to be productive of several very gross abuses. The person who applied for justice with a large present in his hand was likely to get something more than justice, and vice versa. Justice too might frequently be delayed, in order that this present might be repeated. So, this expense *came to be covered,* by taxes of different kinds, and it was very commonly stipulated that no present for the administration of justice should be accepted. Justice was then said to be administered gratis, although it never was in reality administered gratis. But it was not so much to diminish the expense as to prevent the corruption of justice that the judges were prohibited from receiving any present or fee.

REASON: Is taxation the alternative, then?

SMITH: No. The whole expense of justice might easily be defrayed by the fees of court. Where *they* are paid into the hands of a cashier, to be distributed in certain known proportions among the different judges after the process is decided, and not till it is decided, there seems to be no more danger of corruption than where such fees are prohibited altogether.

REASON: What is the advantage of this system?

SMITH: Public services are never better performed than when their reward comes only in consequence of their being performed and is proportioned to the diligence employed in performing them.

REASON: What about financing public works?

SMITH: It does not seem necessary that their expense should be defrayed from that public revenue, as it is commonly called. A highway, a bridge, a canal, for example, may in most cases be both made and maintained by a small toll upon the carriages which make use of them. The coinage, another institution for facilitating commerce, in many countries defrays its own expense. The post office, another institution for the same purpose, over and above defraying its own expense, affords in almost all countries a very considerable revenue.

REASON: Well, you're a little out of date there. But do you think such public works should be run so as to raise extra revenue for the state?

SMITH: If the tolls which are levied at the turnpikes, *for example,* should ever be considered as one of the resources for supplying the exigencies of the state, they would certainly be augmented as those exigencies were supposed to require. According to *current* policies, therefore, they would probably be augmented very fast. But then the tolls, instead of facilitating the inland commerce of the country,

would soon become a very great encumbrance upon it.

REASON: What recommends that public works be financed by their particular users?

SMITH: It seems scarce possible to invent a more equitable way of maintaining such works. Besides, when high roads, bridges, canals, etc., are in this manner made and supported by the commerce which is carried on by means of them, they can be made only where that commerce requires them and consequently where it is proper to make them. A magnificent high road cannot be made through a desert country where there is little or no commerce, or merely because it happens to lead to the country villa of the intendant of the province. A great bridge cannot be thrown over a river at a place where nobody passes, or merely to embellish the view from the windows of a neighboring palace. These things sometimes happen in countries where works of this kind are carried on by any other revenue than that which they themselves are capable of affording.

REASON: For the financing of those governmental functions that benefit all members of society, you concluded, for economic reasons, that taxation is the best method. Yet you said repeatedly throughout your book that people ought to enjoy the fruits of their own work. So how do you justify taxation?

SMITH: The subjects of every state enjoy their revenue under the protection of the state. The expense of government to the individuals of a great nation is like the expense of management to the joint tenants of a great estate, who are all obliged to contribute in proportion to their respective interests in the estate. Taxes of all kinds have often been represented as badges of slavery. Every tax, however, is to the person who pays it a badge, not of slavery, but of liberty. It denotes that he is subject to government, indeed, but that, as he has some property, he cannot himself be the property of a master.

REASON: What is your opinion of raising government revenue by borrowing?

SMITH: The practice of funding has gradually enfeebled every state which has adopted it. Like an improvident spendthrift, whose pressing occasions will not allow him to wait for the regular payment of his revenue, the state is in the constant practice of borrowing of its own factors and agents and of paying interest for the use of its own money. The enormous debts which at present oppress will in the long run probably ruin all the great nations.

REASON: When you wrote, government debt was a means of financing wars. . . .

SMITH: *Yes, but one could say about other programs exactly what I said about borrowing on that occasion.* The facility of borrowing delivers governments from embarrassment. When war comes governments are unwilling to increase their revenue in proportion to the increase of their expense for fear of offending the people, who by so great and so sudden an increase of taxes, would soon be disgusted with the war. Were the expense of war to be defrayed always by revenue raised within the year, wars would in general be more speedily concluded and less wantonly undertaken. The foresight of the heavy and unavoidable *expenses* of war would hinder the people from wantonly calling for it when there was no real or solid interest to fight for.

REASON: Do you think New York will be able to extricate itself from its present difficulties?

SMITH: When *government* debts have once been accumulated to a certain degree, there is scarce, I believe, a single instance of their having been fairly and completely paid. The liberation of the public revenue, if it has ever been brought about at all, has always been brought about by a bankruptcy, sometimes by an avowed one, but always by a real one, though frequently by a pretended payment. *Although such is not available to New York,* the raising of the denomination of the coin has been the most usual expedient by which a real public bankruptcy has been disguised under the appearance of a pretended payment. When it becomes necessary for a *government* to declare itself bankrupt, a fair, open, and avowed bankruptcy is always the measure which is both least dishonorable to the debtor and least hurtful to the creditor. The honor of a state is surely very poorly provided for when, in order to cover the disgrace of a real bankruptcy, it has recourse to juggling tricks so easily seen through and at the same time so extremely pernicious.

REASON: You were quite outspoken at the time about the North American colonies. Why did you suggest that England give them up?

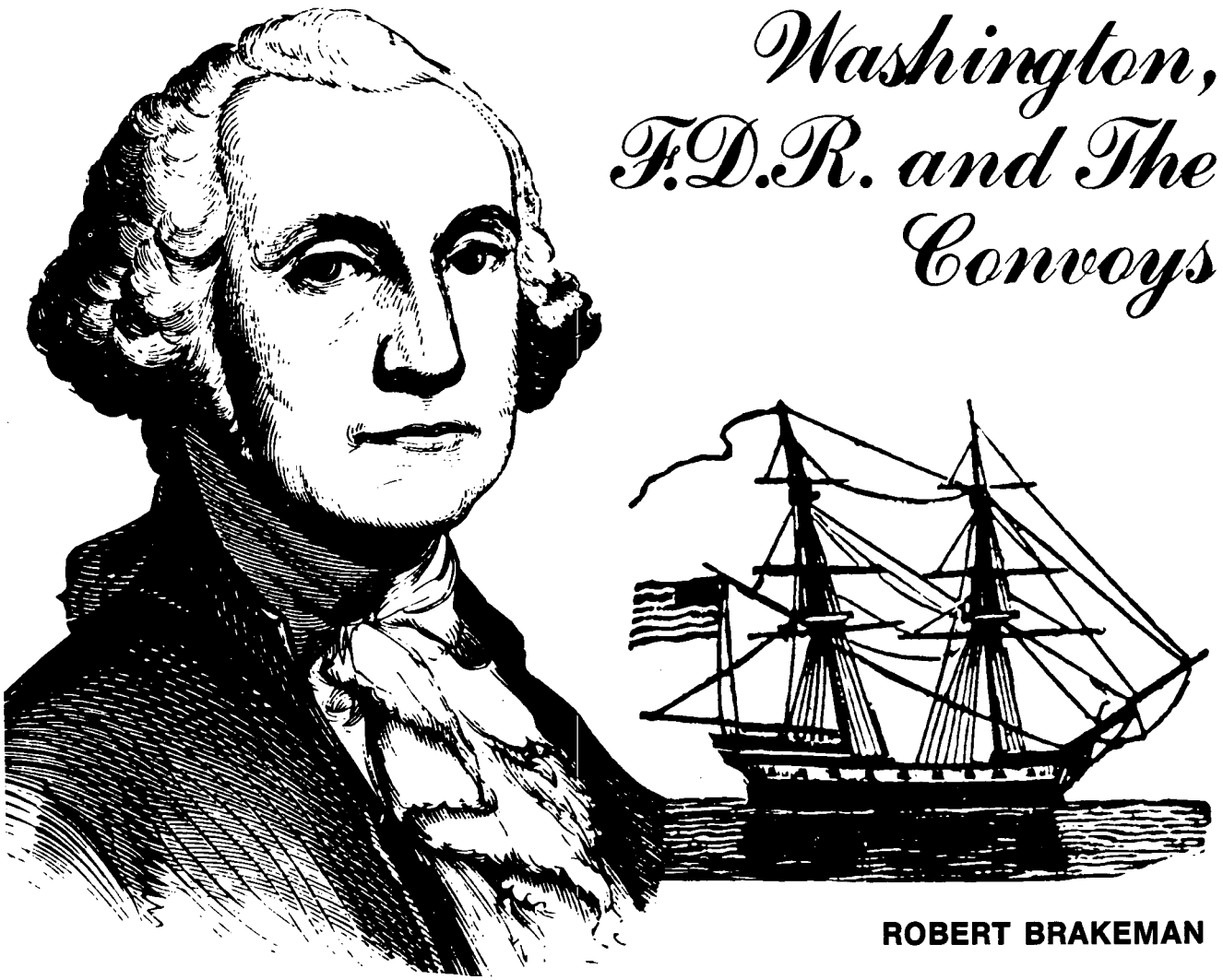
SMITH: The English colonists never contributed anything towards the defense of the mother country or towards the support of its civil government. They themselves, on the contrary, were defended almost entirely at the expense of the mother country. But no nation ever voluntarily gave up the dominion of any province, however the troublesome to govern, however small the revenue which it afforded. Such sacrifices, though they might frequently be agreeable to the interest, are always mortifying to the pride.

REASON: Why do you think England persisted?

SMITH: At first sight the monopoly of the great

(continued on page 43)

Washington, F.D.R. and The Convoys



ROBERT BRAKEMAN

It wasn't summer yet, but it was getting there. As the late-spring days of May flew by, the Philadelphia marketplaces began to draw their largest crowds. The May was that of 1793, and there were men in the national capital (the move to the Potomac was seven years off) who would have liked to stroll by the banks of the river or let the crowds nudge them along the cobblestone streets on a fine afternoon—but these were men who didn't have the time. They were spending their hours indoors, preoccupied with an interesting question: Would the newborn United States do what 99.9 percent of its citizens fervently wished and remain out of the European bloodbath then raging? Or would it decide that the 179th or so round of the centuries-long civil war of that continent somehow needed mangled American bodies?

The United States was to face that question again and again through the next two centuries, and it was to answer it always rightly in the first of them and always wrongly in the second. In '93 the main contending parties in Europe were England and France. The reasons for the latest war, or the latest battle in the continuous war, were complex and, from an American standpoint, profoundly trivial. This country was full of people who admired either England or France and became their partisans in verbal warfare at the local tavern, but virtually empty of people who wanted the United States to enter the war. Neutrality was as lusted after as any American political principle has ever been, and the decision before the government was merely *how* to keep the country as far out of the war as if it had been between unknown bandit kings in some faraway part of Asia instead of between known bandit kings in closer-by Europe.

PROTECTING THE LITTLE SHIPS

As it was to be a century and a half later, a crucial question before George Washington and his "cabinet" was the matter of convoying, the guarding of merchant ships by warships. With unanimous cabinet support, Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality: the American people wished to live their own lives in peace; they did not wish to bail out either side in Europe's ongoing insanity; so the nation would

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adhere to a strict policy of noninvolvement.

That decision was relatively easy; from then on the necessary decisions became more specific and therefore more controversial. The proclamation was really no more than a statement of national feeling; it wasn't a law and it wasn't an edict and it wasn't a regulation. It of course is an interesting question whether such things were needed to keep America out of the war, but it was assumed they might be, which is all that matters here.

If the ultimate disaster were to come about, if America were to enter the bloodbath, it would probably be because of a shooting scrape on the high seas. That was the only place U.S. nationals came very near English and French nationals under conditions in which warfare was possible. And it would probably grow out of Americans' supplying goods to the belligerents. For those interested in ensuring that faraway places didn't become littered with American corpses, an obvious possibility was simply to prohibit American trade with the belligerents. That option Washington and his advisors rejected, for two reasons.

First, they didn't want to deny enterprising fellows the opportunity to make an honest, if bloody, profit. Second—and it is inconceivable to modern Americans—they found no reason to think they had the *power* to tell people what they could not produce and sell. So, selling to the warring powers wouldn't be prohibited.

WAR-WISE LEADERS

But that was only the penultimate question. The ultimate one was: Should the government provide protection for whatever shipments individual Americans chose to send over the bounding main to Europe? The men who were to make that decision had seen enough of war to give them a perspective very different from that of every age's armchair generals and warlovers. Washington was a front-lines general, and if anyone during the Revolution saw more men dying, it must have been some unknown regimental surgeon; Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton had served as Washington's Chief of Staff and had seen more bloodshed during his early twenties than most men see the whole of their lives; Secretary of War Henry Knox had been Chief of Artillery, and some said a cannoneer was the most dangerous thing to be during that fighting; Attorney General Edmund Randolph knew more about war than was to be found in books, for he'd been Washington's aide-de-camp; and Secretary of State Jefferson had been governor of a wartime Virginia treated to a British invasion containing about the usual amount of burning, looting, and raping, had escaped Monticello just a few steps ahead of British troops, and had had one of his other plantations largely destroyed by the invaders of His Britannic Majesty.

These were men who didn't take war frivolously, who'd pay any reasonable price to avoid it, and who saw with great clarity that convoying U.S. goods to Europe would almost certainly make it impossible to avoid. Even *without* convoying of merchant ships by U.S. warships, the prospects for being dragged into a mindless European war were quite good, for the loss of any American lives or cargoes to foreign men-of-war was sure to bring cries for intervention, if only from those whose goods and men were going to the bottom. Since such wealthy men were likely to be influential, their voices might be capable of dealing neutrality a mortal blow. But *with* convoying, getting into the war was virtually guaranteed. How could it be otherwise, then or later? The European powers would do their best to sink American cargoes going to the opponent; if those cargoes were being guarded by U.S. Navy ships, the first strike against a U.S. cargo would be at the same time a strike against a U.S. naval vessel, which translates into an attack upon the U.S. government, which is confused with an attack upon the American people or the American continent, and the war is on.

THE ADMIRABLE DECISION

In the bright-spring May of '93 the Washington cabinet considered the question of convoying at a meeting called to construct a reply to British complaints over certain French activities on American soil. There was much disagreement during the meeting, with sympathies going in different directions. But on the crucial questions there was thorough agreement: protecting U.S. shipments on the high seas was a wonderfully straightforward violation of U.S. neutrality—the shipments involved were likely to be arms—and a wonderfully effective way to get into the war. Washington and his confreres were men who wanted the new nation to steer clear of the faraway carnage; knowing that a convoy policy would turn an individual-versus-individual into a nation-versus-nation incident, they decided there would be no U.S. warships on the North Atlantic to involve the American people in the quarrel of some manufacturer who chose to make money playing around in European quarrels. It was a free country, and men could make and ship armaments if they chose—but the government would not use the resources and risk the futures of the American people to guard those shipments. If a ship was sunk, whoever owned the cargo would do some grieving, but thousands of wives and sweethearts and children and parents across the 15 states would *not* be doing any grieving. The

Washington and his advisors did not believe they had the power to tell people what they could not produce and sell.

cabinet decision was as antiwar as Washington had hoped.

There *was* shipping to the warring powers, and there *were* attacks upon that shipping. Just after the fine firm of Washington & Co. made its decision, the attacks came mostly from the British. British Navy ships stopped and seized American vessels in the Atlantic and the Caribbean; their cargoes were confiscated or destroyed and their men tossed into dungeons. Historian Thomas Bailey, who speaks of the "dispatch and ruthlessness" of the British captains, characterizes American seaborn commerce as "paralyzed" once the British got busy. Diplomatic historian Julius Pratt speaks of the English having in mind not so much a direct benefit to themselves as "injury to the shipper." In short, modern historians agree about the ferocity of the British campaign.

This quotation from the key proclamation of the British government, is instructive: "All vessels loaded wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France" were to be seized. That took in a lot of territory. An unspoken part of British policy was even worse: any time that country was short of able-bodied seamen, it simply impressed (kidnapped) them from American ships, with or without a pretended claim that they were really British citizens who had defected to the American merchant service. The British did have an interest in starving the French people, but they had an equal interest in keeping arms from reaching them, so armaments shipments were as eagerly sought as foodstuffs. The English were after whatever could directly or indirectly aid France's war effort.

With convoying getting into the war was virtually guaranteed – how could it be otherwise, then or later?

REFUSING PROVOCATION

The French, in this mid-nineties period, were a little better than the British—not because they were any less inherently predatory than their cousins, but because treaties with America signed in 1778 were still in effect, and these gave them hope of American assistance in the war and thus a reason not to antagonize the young nation. Nonetheless, the French retaliated for British seizure of American goods bound for French ports by attacking U.S. ships bound for the national arsenal and granary of Britain, and only in comparison with the British record do the French of this period look fair or pro-American.

Three famous cases of French depredations, famous because they led to important court decisions, give the flavor of that country's disrespect for American neutrality. The sloop *Betsy* was owned by Americans and, as if to emphasize her neutral status, coowned by citizens of another nonbelligerent nation, Sweden. Unseizable, under international law, she was nevertheless seized by the French. The American/neutral ships *Fanny* and *William* were also eminently unattackable—and were just as quickly attacked when they came within sight of French ships. The tribulations of these ships and cargoes, and of less famous ones, produced anti-French feelings of course. But because there were no U.S. Navy ships protecting all the little merchant ships, there was no incident that very many people could be convinced was an attack upon "America" as opposed to some risk-taking merchant, and there was no war. The no-convoy decision was as effective in preventing war with France as with Britain.

There are those who will consider the record and conclude: "That's terrible! Ships seized, men thrown into dungeons, cargoes confiscated—terrible!" And those people would be right—as far as they go. Those who go further will come up with two other thoughts. First, there's no useful sense in which the ships and cargoes seized on the rising and falling waves were "American." They belonged to specific individuals who chose to take immense risks in helping assorted Europeans kill each other off, who got involved to make profits, who did it in spite of the obvious tendency of such trade to lead to war-producing confrontations, who did it in defiance of the desperate will of almost all Americans to stay *out* of the foreign bloodbath, and who were, therefore, not even worthy of respect from decent people, let alone protection by U.S. Navy vessels. If they chose to take their chances, that was one thing; but if they tried to get the American people to risk war to *better* those chances, that was something else.

The second thought—for the benefit of those who insist upon seeing such shipping as "American"—is, granted that what was happening to "American" interests was unpleasant, how incomparably *less* unpleasant it was than the alternative: an all-out war. It's a useful rule of thumb that the bloodiest personal encounters are immeasurably *less* murderous than even the smallest, politest, and least-lethal wars; the whole point of war is that it is killing systematized and organized in a way that private encounters just can't be and that it is designed to include millions of people who have nothing to do with the dispute at hand.

Because the hero of the Revolution opted against a war, and because he and his advisors were perspicacious enough to see the consequences of convoying, in the early nineties there would be none—and there would be no war. The crisis passed, and the problems of a handful of merchants were not turned into problems for millions of Americans.

ANOTHER CENTURY, ANOTHER STRUGGLE

It was another spring, and the capital was now on

the banks of the Potomac instead of the Delaware. The President was now a man stunningly inferior to the chief executive in that earlier spring, and a man surrounded by advisors inferior even to himself. What makes that difference so significant is that the world scenario was so similar to what it had been in the earlier spring. In 1941 there was (a) an ongoing foreign war, (b) a U.S. decision to be made about entering or keeping out of the war, (c) a subsidiary decision about whether Americans would be allowed to deal in war goods with the contending powers, and (d) a further subsidiary decision about whether, if they were allowed to engage in that traffic, there would be convoying. Both proponents and opponents of American entry into the war saw that if there were no convoying all the little American ships on the North Atlantic might be sunk, but the grievances thereby generated would remain essentially private ones.

Considering the desperate urge of the Roosevelt administration to get the United States into the war, they might have found a way even without convoying, but that tool proved to be the most useful one. The decision to enter/not-enter the war turned out to be two decisions: Roosevelt & Co. decided to go in; the American people decided to stay out. With one side of that disagreement controlling both the guns and the propaganda organs of society, the outcome could hardly be in doubt. And "the desperate urge of the Roosevelt administration to get into the war" no longer needs documentation. Historians have long since made conclusive the point that was clear to many Americans who watched the events unfold: the administration made a conscious and very early decision to enter the European bloodbath, and from that point busied itself with telling Americans how hard it was trying to maintain U.S. noninvolvement and with trying to end that noninvolvement. Even professional Roosevelt sycophants admit FDR's warlust—merely adding that he was doing it for our "own good."

CONVINCING A MAJORITY

An American public 80-percent opposed to entering the war was a real obstacle to the interventionists, but there was every prospect that that obstacle could be overcome through the creation of "incidents" involving U.S. and German forces on the high seas, and convoying was ready made for that purpose. Secretary of War Henry Stimson's comment that the goal was to maneuver Japan into attacking us so that the war would be a "defensive" one applied as well to the North Atlantic. If the Germans could be maneuvered into firing the first shot *there,* FDR could say that war had "already begun" by an act of the Germans. Roosevelt, Stimson, Navy Secretary Frank Knox, and their various lesser lights were using both the Atlantic and Pacific provocation routes at the same time, and whichever one worked, worked. Ironically, though they devoted their primary attention to the Atlantic, their maneuvering gambit worked first in the Pacific. Nonetheless, the North Atlantic was the important theater, for a long succession of created incidents there inflamed public opinion, allowed the government to speak of war "already existing," lowered the 80-percent opposition rate to a more manageable figure, and allowed Americans to be convinced of the bestiality of the Nazi regime, which was true, and of its intention to and capability of threatening Americans and the American continent, which were ludicrously false.

After the revelations of the Nye Committee, the popular press, and scholars in the 1930's about the genesis of U.S. involvement in World War I, the public was violently antipathetic toward arms merchants, and the sinking of one or ten or ten thousand ships carrying munitions to Europe could not have been successfully used to inflame public opinion. The very word "munitions" had gained such opprobrium that there might have been as much cheering as crying each time such a ship went down. In spite of scatological criticism directed against the revelations about the "merchants of death," those exposures were accurate in the main point they made—that American financial and industrial interests had played

If they chose to take their chances, that was one thing; if they tried to get the American people to risk war to better *those chances, that was something else.*

at least *a* major and probably *the* major role in dragging America into the earlier bloodbath—and the people had learned the lesson well.

If Americans were to be stirred up to demanding or at least tolerating another descent into insanity, it would not be by arranging for the sinking of a DuPont cargo. There would have to be incidents involving the Navy, our boys in uniform, and an attack by the German government upon the American government. Roosevelt might have done something like send Navy ships on scientific expeditions into various provocative parts of the world, but even a very bemused public would have seen through that. No, there had to be some "logical" reason to justify throwing American naval ships out there where the German U-boats could get at them, and only protecting goods on the way to Europe filled the bill. For reasons outlined in the earlier discussion of a more admirable administration, such convoying wasn't logical at all and didn't follow naturally from U.S. citizens' being allowed to trade in war goods, but only convoying could be made to even *seem* logical.

CLEARLY A HOSTILE ACT

As tourists enjoyed the Washington springtime,

FDR and his associates enjoyed themselves indoors, trying to institute the convoying they were sure would bring on war. It wasn't easy, for administration leaders often admitted the obvious: that it would turn individual grievances into a conflagration involving all the American people and should therefore be avoided. Roosevelt himself had said on January 21 of '41: "Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war." Quite right. The deluded citizenry naturally took him to mean that because convoys would surely lead to war they had to be avoided, but of course he meant that because they lead inevitably to war they had to be instituted as soon as possible.

On April 24—a day that perhaps should "live in infamy" as December 7 does, FDR approved convoying, although he labeled it "patrolling." Changing the name of his prowar action, however, did not take care of the legal problem: the Lend-Lease Act, passed earlier in '41, had specifically *prohibited* convoying, as well as *any* entry of a U.S. warship into any war zone. This difficulty, which, if one takes law seriously, should have placed Roosevelt in a resort community like Leavenworth or Lewisberg, was taken care of by . . . ignoring it. The administration had the power. Besides, it wasn't "convoying," it was "patrolling."

Even professional Roosevelt sycophants admit FDR's warlust – merely adding that he was doing it for our "own good."

Roosevelt's convoy decision was the mirror image of Washington's, not just in its content, but in the intentions behind it. Washington was obviously desperate to keep out of a foreign war; Roosevelt was so desperate to get into one that he was chided for not being more honest about it by an associate, Henry Stimson, who wanted the war almost as much as he did. When FDR told his April 24 cabinet meeting that patrolling was merely to defend the Americas, his War Secretary pointed out that that was a ridiculous assertion, for the "patrols" were going to report the whereabouts of German ships, not to the Americas, but to the British Navy. In his diary, Stimson was even blunter: "I wanted him to be honest with himself. To me it seems a clearly hostile act to the Germans . . . he seems to be trying to hide it into the character of a purely reconnaisance action, which it clearly is not."

The summer of '41 was an interesting one in Washington, and the interest was mostly in one topic: Was the Administration convoying/patrolling, or was it not? The spring decision to do so, like most other significant decisions on the road to war, had been kept secret, and all summer long Roosevelt & Co. denied what enterprising newspapermen were discovering through leaks: U.S. naval vessels and personnel were busy doing what the Chief had admitted "means war"—convoying. There were continuing reports of American warships being fired upon, and firing upon, German ships while the Americans were protecting British property. The consistent denials by everyone in power were consistently disbelieved by everyone who had perceived the nature of Roosevelt's intentions vis-a-vis the foreign holocaust. At the end of the summer, Roosevelt got his first dramatic "incident," one which would allow him to move the U.S. another rung or two up the ladder to war.

DASTARDLY PROVOCATION?

The *Greer* was an American destroyer carrying out its Rooseveltian orders of convoying/patrolling in the North Atlantic. On September 4 the *Greer,* on patrol duty, began trailing a German submarine and broadcasting its position to a British warplane nearby; the plane dropped some depth charges, and then left the area to allow the *Greer* to keep up the chase alone, which it did. After several hours the sub fired one torpedo at the destroyer and missed; the submarine was then attacked with a series of depth charges from the surface ship; it fired another torpedo; the *Greer* then lost contact with the sub, but picked it up again a couple of hours later and once again tried to eliminate it with depth charges, with unknown results. This ship had done exactly what convoy/patrol ships are supposed to do, and initiated aggression against opposition shipping; but that was hardly the story the administration gave the public.

As FDR told it, the *Greer* was an innocent mail ship attacked in a dastardly way by the Germans. FDR's fireside chats were being used at this time to propagandize in favor of entering the foreign war, and one week after the *Greer* incident the President went on nationwide radio to tell his story: "She was flying the American flag. Her identity as an American ship was unmistakable. She was then and there attacked by a submarine . . . I tell you the blunt fact that the German submarine fired first upon this American destroyer without warning, and with deliberate design to sink her." He mentioned that "we have sought no shooting war with Hitler," but that since one seemed to have started, "from now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters, the protection of which is necessary for American defense, they do so at their own peril." The policy would be one of shoot on sight, and the country was "X" steps closer to war.

On October 17 Roosevelt's incidents policy did even more effective work to inflame public opinion than it had in the *Greer* case. After all, the *Greer* wasn't even hit. How much better if an American vessel on convoy/patrol duty were actually torpedoed. On October 17 one was. The U.S.S. *Kearny,* convoying merchant ships, responded to an attack upon a nearby convoy. The *Kearny* dropped depth charges in the area of a German sub and was then struck herself by a torpedo. Eleven men were killed.

Roosevelt 10 days later took to the airwaves again and, omitting mention of the *Kearny's* attack upon the U-boat, castigated the Nazis for their attack. Two sections of the address deserve quotation. In one of them Roosevelt highlighted the underlying purpose of the whole convoy/patrol policy: maneuvering the Axis into firing or even *seeming* to fire the first shot. The President was well aware of how difficult it was to get Americans war-eager in the absence of such a first shot from the enemy; in World War I, when there'd been no such attack, there'd been massive opposition to U.S. involvement that continued throughout the war. In Congress, 56 members voted against entry into the 1914 round of the European civil war; only one voted against involvement in the 1939 round. The difference, of course, was Pearl Harbor, a direct and substantial attack upon American personnel, and it was a Pearl Harbor in the Atlantic that Roosevelt was seeking. He told the nation: "We have wished to avoid shooting. But the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot." If that sounds like a declaration of war, he no doubt meant it that way—but the public wasn't quite ready to follow.

FDR PLEADS HIS CASE

Another portion of the address spotlights the importance of convoying: "America has been attacked. The U.S.S. *Kearny* is not just a Navy ship. She belongs to every man, woman, and child in this Nation." After naming all the states from which the dead sailors came, Roosevelt said, "Hitler's torpedo was directed against every American. . . ." If the U.S. Navy allowed Hitler to dictate to it, then it "would have to remain respectfully—abjectly—behind any line which Hitler might decree. . . ." "Our determination not to take it lying down has been expressed in the orders to the American Navy to shoot on sight." Then there was a closing reference to that nation "whose Navy believes in the tradition of 'Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!' "

This heavy emphasis on the Navy was crucial. How effective would it have been for FDR to have said: "That Morgan-empire ship, engaged in trade for profits, likely to lead to hundreds of thousands of American deaths, belongs to every man, woman, and child in this Nation"?

Roosevelt was given another convoy incident the night before Halloween, when the U.S.S. *Reuben James* got into a *Greer/Kearny* type of fight. Although the incident itself was more serious than either of those—the *Reuben James* was actually sunk, and the casualties sheet showed 96 men lost—by late October much of the truth about the earlier incidents had leaked out, and claims of innocence were less effective than the first and second time around.

The attack upon Pearl Harbor five weeks later was unfortunate for more reasons that the slaughter of Americans. Because the immediate cause of our entry into the war was an attack in the Pacific, the fact has been obscured that the administration's now-admitted urge to get the U.S. into the bloodletting was heavily Atlantic-based and that convoying was a key tool. There is every reason to believe that the FDR incident-creating activities in the North Atlantic *would* have taken us into the war by late '41 or early '42 if the Japanese hadn't solved Roosevelt's problem first. By Pearl Harbor-time the administration had accomplished much in its North Atlantic theater of operations—both sides recognized that by '41 the U.S. was a full, though unannounced, belligerent on the side of the British Empire and looking for a chance to jump in formally. By creating conditions in which ships belonging to "every man, woman and child" in the country were attacked, FDR inflamed public opinion, weakened the antiwar movement, swayed Congressional opinion, aided recruitment for interventionist groups, made palatable such interventionist acts as the shoot-on-sight order, extension of convoying farther and farther across the Atlantic, a massive war-oriented tax increase and exploding war expenditures, and increasingly elastic interpretations and then a pro-war amending of the Neutrality Act. The quirk of fate that brought a non-Atlantic war shouldn't be allowed to hide the contrast between the motives and actions of a President who strove to stay out of a European slaughter and one who lusted to get in. Their respective convoy-decisions say it all. ◻

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OR

The American Revolution as a PEOPLE'S WAR

WILLIAM MARINA

Just what is it we are celebrating with the Bicentennial? With a few notable exceptions, much of the reality and significance of the American Revolution seems to have escaped the American people and a large segment of the historical profession, judging from what has been published during the Bicentennial.

Was the American Revolution, for example, a people's war? Last year in an article in REASON (June 1975), I pointed out that the widespread idea that it was a minority movement is based on a misreading of a letter from John Adams to James Lloyd, dated January 1831, located in volume 10 of Adam's *Works.* A close reading makes it clear that Adams was discussing American opinion about the French Revolution in the 1790's when he wrote of a third being for the Revolution, a third against it, and a third "lukewarm."

I do not claim credit for the éxpose of that

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misreading, which is found in numerous books dating back at least to 1902. The error was first pointed out in 1954 in *The American Revolution* by John R. Alden, who was cited by R. R. Palmer five years later in his *The Age of the Democratic Revolution,* and the error was discussed in detail by Herbert Aptheker in *The American Revolution* a year after Palmer's book.

Yet in the 1970's, at the approach of and into the celebration of the Bicentennial, the repetition and perpetuation of the minority myth, based upon the misreading of Adam's letter, continues unabated. To cite just a few sources: the colonial historian Darrett B. Rutman mentioned it in a book in 1971, as did the historian Oscar Handlin in an article in *The American Scholar* the same year; the next year it was noted by Daniel Ellsberg in his book, by Alistair Cooke in his television program "America" and the book of the same name, and by the conservative social critic Irving Kristol in a presentation; it was reiterated in 1974 by Thomas H. Greene in a book on comparative revolutions, in 1975 by Sydney B. Harris in several columns; and just recently by the historian Page Smith, whose magnificent two-volume work *A New Age Now Begins* is otherwise dedicated to demonstrating the American Revolution as a majority movement (Smith avoids an apparent contradiction by suggesting Adams' estimate referred to the beginning of the Revolution).

I hope that lengthy list, just for the 1970's, has not bored the reader, but I thought it necessary to establish the pervasiveness of the misreading of the letter. A very large number of intellectuals apparently find something very appealing in the notion that social change is caused by a minority. A variation of the minority theme, found in the work of British historians such as W. E. H. Lecky and Eric Robson, admits an American majority but sees it as very much manipulated by a clever group of leaders.

We will skip over the questionable methodology of all those who have cited the Adams letter. Common sense ought to lead one to ask what kind of Gallup Poll Adams had upon which to base such an estimate, why it was better than the estimates of other participants, and how that estimate could be reconciled with others by Adams indicating a clear American majority.

A DANGEROUS MYTH

With the misreading of the Adams letter out of the way, the question still remains whether the American Revolution was a majority movement, and it is a very important one. If, for example, the Founding Fathers had thought they were only a minority it would be difficult to avoid viewing them as rather hypocritical, for they constantly spoke of the will of the majority as second only to natural law.

The fascination of the minority interpretation is closely linked with what must be regarded as the other significant, and much debated, question about the Revolution—Was it a true social revolution or merely a colonial rebellion? For a long time now an anti-revolutionary outlook has been growing in America, reflected in the historiography of the American Revolution. At the heart of that outlook is the arrogance of power that some of the Founding Fathers such as John Adams criticized as the essence of empire. Since late in the 19th century there has been ample evidence in the American experience to demonstrate the growth of that attitude. A number of the antistatists of the Old Right spoke out against this trend, and I have written at length about it, most recently in REASON (Feb. 1976). Suffice it to say here that the notion of a minority having effected the American Revolution meshes nicely with the idea that the Imperial Republic ought to be run by a group of policymakers who, in their wisdom about "world order," have a better sense about what is good for the American people than the people themselves.

Given that antirevolutionary, elitist attitude, in a century filled with violent and radical revolutionary upheaval, it is perhaps natural that some should seek to find in the American Revolution an exception to these recent struggles. Hence the interpretation of the American Revolution as only a colonial rebellion to protect existing American rights from the encroachment of British power.

There is much wisdom in the observation that, like all historical occurrences, the American Revolution was a unique event. That insight, however, can become quite divorced from reality if it obscures the ways in which the Revolution was similar to a number of such upheavals. The American patriot David Ramsay was talking about a "people's war" long before Mao Tse-tung. American revolutionary Committees of Safety were extracting "recantations" and "confessions" after lengthy sessions with individuals who expressed doubts about the struggle decades before "brainwashing" and "coercive persuasion" were carried to their logical conclusions by Communist revolutionists and psychologists. And George Washington was writing about an American strategy to "protract" the conflict many years before Communist tacticians worked out a plan for "protracted conflict."

In short, one need not go to the writings of Lenin, Trotsky, Mao, Ché Guevara, or Vo Nguyen Giap nor study the revolutions with which they were associated to learn about the principles of revolutionary warfare. The events of the American Revolution are filled with examples of the discovery and working out of the essentials of those principles. Note, for example, this assessment by Washington's young aide, Alexander Hamilton, hardly a radical: "To avoid a general engagement" it was sometimes necessary to "give up objects of the first importance." To the question, "What is to hinder the enemy from carrying every important point and ruining us?" he replied: "Our hopes are not placed in any particular city, or spot of ground, but preserving a good army, furnished with proper necessities, to take advantage of favor-

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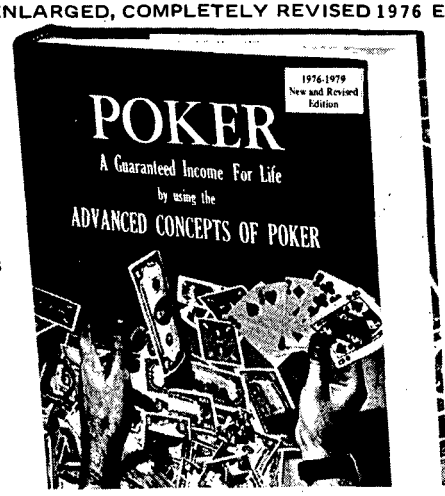

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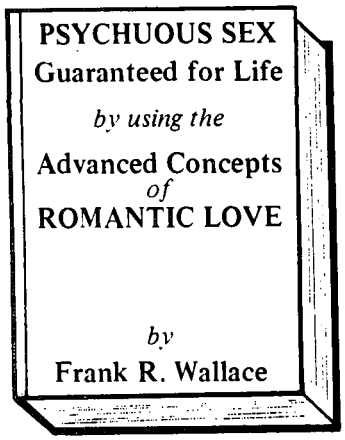

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able opportunities, and to waste and defeat the enemy by piecemeal." Could any of our 20th-century writers on "guerrilla" or "counterinsurgency" warfare have stated the strategy more clearly?

WHAT MAKES A PEOPLE'S WAR?

The sociology of revolution, of late, has received considerable attention. In the light of recent experiences, unlike earlier studies such as Crane Brinton's classic *The Anatomy of Revolution,* several newer books on revolution link its success to guerrilla war and to the participation of the mass of the people.

Insufficient attention has been given, however, to what might be called the basis of legitimacy of a society. Individuals conceptualize through a worldview, a definition of reality at the center of which are some assumptions about human nature and about the basis of values that give the social order a degree of cohesion or legitimacy. A paradigm (the current "in" word) is really a subset within this larger worldview. Thus a shift from a Ptolemaic to a Copernican theory in astronomy is a paradigm shift that need not disturb another paradigm concerning molecules. On the other hand, one can have only one worldview, and, as I have suggested in *Egalitarianism and Empire,* though

Perpetuation of the minority myth, based upon the misreading of the Adams letter, continues unabated.

they can be combined in a hierarchy, there are only three sources of value—supernatural, natural, and positive law—from which one can choose to construct the core of a worldview.

In considering whether a given upheaval is only a rebellion or a true social revolution, little effort has been made to define exactly what is meant by the latter. While the degree of social and economic change, the turnover of the elite, and the extent of violence are all important aspects, I would suggest that the most fundamental criterion is whether there is a shift in the basis of legitimacy between the old regime and the new.

What really characterizes a people's war is that the ideology of legitimacy is the matrix within which the military struggle is waged. The most critical period in any revolution, therefore, is the point at which the great mass of the people shifts its legitimacy from the value base of the old regime. People's war, whether through popular support of a regular army, partisan units, or guerrilla bands, is simply the military effort to establish the institutions embodying the new legitimacy.

THE HEART OF REVOLUTION

That subtle shift in legitimacy is the key aspect of the sociology of revolution. Unless it can reestablish its legitimacy, no amount of territory captured or number of battles won can ever result in a victorious return of the old regime.

Modern counterinsurgency warfare has too often concentrated upon the military aspect of the struggle, but that is not the way of successful revolutionists. The insurgents' regular army forces can be broken into partisan units, defeated until there are only guerrilla groups left, and many of those groups isolated and destroyed, but the insurgency will not be defeated unless the legitimacy it has for the mass of the people is displaced. That, and nothing else, is what is meant by victory. The dynamics of that shift, before any real overthrow of the old regime is accomplished, is crucial to social revolution.

Revolutions are an example of social change at its maximum. The great question that has occupied students of both social change and revolution is, Why, and under what circumstances, does a questioning of the old regime take place? In *Egalitarianism and Empire* I sought to develop a theory of social change, which applies not only to revolution, but also to the American history, where, as Alexis de Tocqueville was the first to point out in detail, equality was a significant factor. I suggested that civilizations tend to pass through a cycle from equality, which generates envy, to egalitarianism, and finally to empire. Without being deliberately alliterative, I would now add several additional "E's," so that the whole syndrome might be described: expansion, equality, envy, egalitarianism, empire, entropy, and extinction.

From the standpoint of social revolution, what is significant is that in any society there is a constant tension—which can be thought of as a triangle—between the beneficiaries of the inequalities of the old order, those who are striving to increase equality of opportunity and before the law, and those who desire egalitarian leveling of status and wealth. Expansion, whether of the market or of territory, softens the sense of inequality, offers greater opportunity, and tends to assuage demands for egalitarianism.

If, however, expansion breeds a certain psychology, so too does contraction of the system. People become more cognizant of inequalities, and those who are dissatisfied gravitate toward either equality or egalitarianism, with a demand for the former often masking a real desire for the latter. Thus it was that Tocqueville saw envy as the driving force in the rampant egalitarianism that characterized the French Revolution. With these brief comments about social change, revolution, and people's war in mind, let us examine the American Revolution.

SEARCHING FOR NEW LEGITIMACY

The American Revolution cannot be correctly understood outside of the context of a lingering debate that had surfaced in the English Revolution and continued during that almost century and a quarter that comprised much of the colonial period

of American history. At issue was what constitutes a good society. It was an age in which religion, and this was true of the American Revolution as well, played an important role.

As the rise of national states challenged the supremacy of a Christian religious community, monarchs such as Henry VIII attempted to work out a synthesis between the various sources of law or value. In supplanting Thomas More's belief in supernatural as superior to positive, statist law, Henry did not seek to eliminate other sources of value but to develop a hierarchy in which it was "natural" that the king, as head of the state, was by divine ordination God's choice to rule. This effort to make nation and church coincide could hardly satisfy those who, seeing sin and corruption among those comprising the state, wished either to purify the church (Puritans) or separate church from state (Separatist).

Without going into the social, economic, and political intricacies of the English Revolution, we can see that the debate involved equality and egalitarianism. That debate about the nature of a Christian commonwealth took place around the campfires of the New Model Army. The more conservative members, the leaders, of the revolutionary coalition were not so much concerned with equality as a general principle as they were anxious to gain access to that organized system of coercive inequality known as the State. The equalitarian position was argued by leaders, such as John Lilburne, of that group known as Levellers, to the everlasting confusion of future historians, for their program was essentially libertarian. The Diggers, a much smaller group led by Gerard Winstanley, took an egalitarian, socialist position. Even before the restoration of the King, it was clear the Revolution had faltered far short of the equality of opportunity and before the law desired by the libertarian Levellers.

During the next century, including the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89, there was a continuing debate about the nature of the English Constitution and the relationship between the King and the Parliament. The Whigs, especially that group represented by pamphleteers such as Thomas Gordon and John Trenchard, were in many ways the heirs to the equalitarian ideas of the Levellers.

As might be expected, that debate and aspects of the alternatives were carried to the New World and were reflected in the English efforts at colonization. What linked, for example, some of the Puritan leaders in early Massachusetts with proprietors in the Carolinas was a belief in a rather rigid hierarchical system of inequality. Even less successful in the New World were those who envisaged the ideal commonwealth as a society of leveling communism. After several years of futility that "noble experiment" was dropped both at Plymouth and at Jamestown.

Perhaps the most fruitful way to view the whole American colonial experience is to see it as a number of continuing struggles, progressing at a different pace depending on the colony, between those who wished to establish some version of a feudal, hierarchical system of inequality and those favoring equality of opportunity and before the law. The former argued for a strong, positive government, while the latter wanted the State either limited or eliminated. (Recent research by Rowland Berthoff and John M. Murrin suggesting a feudal revival in the 18th century raises some question about the strength of the equalitarians. It is probably safe to conclude, however, that political participation was on the whole extended and that some additional mobility existed in that some able persons were coopted into the existing system.)

The continuing struggles surfaced most obviously in the rebellions that shook many of the colonies before and during the Glorious Revolution. Though he does not put it in the context sketched above, Bernard Bailyn's *The Origins of American Politics* offers a great deal of evidence to support such an interpretive framework.

Finally, there is the relationship between the colonies and the Mother Country. At this level also, the debate would in the end focus around inequality versus equality. As early as the 1670's some British policymakers conceived that the colonies, especially New England might someday offer an economic and political challenge to England. The policy of "salutary neglect" operated for a good part of the 18th century, postponing a confrontation with that problem, but it began to change when, after the Great War for Empire in the mid-1700's, British mercantilist policymakers sought to fully implement the potential of the system.

The American Patriot David Ramsay was talking about a "people's war" long before Mao Tse-tung.

THE STAMP ACT CRISIS

The British effort in 1765 to collect a revenue from the colonies through the sale of stamps, to be required for numerous items and transactions, coming as it did on the heels of several other problems, threw the whole system into disarray. Even that obnoxious piece of legislation was an effort to curtail the thrust toward greater equality of opportunity. The tax to enter college or the bar was to be much higher than in England. Thomas Whately, who drew up the bill, acknowledged "they were raised . . . considerably in order to keep mean persons out of those situations in life which they disgrace."

The massive protest in America made some strange bedfellows, ranging from Samuel Adams, through more conservative elements, to members of

the British system such as Thomas Hutchinson. That dilemma, or "ordeal" as Bailyn calls it, of Tory-Loyalists such as Hutchinson is familiar to anyone who has studied colonial rebellions. Marxists use the term "comprador" to describe those natives who link their fortunes to that of the imperial power. William H. Nelson's little book *The American Tory* is particularly good in exploring the quandary of such men when the tensions inherent in the inequalities of the colonial system come to the fore. They are truly the men in the middle.

"Organized mobs" and riots, Sons of Liberty, and a colonial Stamp Act Congress were all a part of negating the act, but the actual nullification came in the unanimous refusal to buy or use the stamps. As England backed down, some conservatives were frightened by the destruction of some of the riots and protests, such as those by tenants in New York opposing abuses of the quasi-feudal system. William Prendergast, the leader of these Levellers (note the name harking back to the libertarians of the previous century), warned that the same arguments used against stamps certainly must have validity elsewhere as well.

The Stamp Act initiated over a decade of debate among Americans about the British Constitution and the place of the colonies within it. In essence it was a discussion of the basic legitimacy of the system, and it certainly was not clarified by the fact that a debate over the Constitution had been going on in England itself. What British policymakers after the Stamp Act protest never understood was that the Americans had almost unanimously united behind the idea that they would not submit to taxation without representation. In the several confrontations that were to follow, the Americans never wavered from that view, which is at root an aspect of equality before the law. In the debate the Americans were clarifying in their own minds the basic legitimacy of their beliefs—a very arduous and often slow process—and heatedly discussing the proper response to British actions as new groups were drawn into the protest coalition.

British policymakers never understood that the Americans had almost unanimously united behind the idea that they would not submit to taxation without representation.

REVOLUTION: BEGINNINGS

A second round in the struggle began in 1767 with the British decision to pursue the Townshend duties on items such as paper, glass, lead, painters' colors, and tea. The American argument against this so-called external tax was best summed up in John Dickinson's "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," which appeared serially in newspapers and then was widely published as a pamphlet. This time the American response took the form of nonimportation agreements. While they began with merchants in the leading port cities, they would not have been effective had not a large segment of the population participated. In fact, before the British capitulation in 1770, it is clear that the initiative in enforcing such agreements was increasingly taken by organizations of artisans and mechanics which formed the backbone of the popular protests, led by leaders such as Samuel Adams, Alexander MacDougall, Charles Thomson, and Christopher Gadsden.

In a very real sense, however, the Americans were already beginning to fashion a new paradigm. Samuel Adams later admitted that it was about 1768 when the possibility of independence first began to take shape in his thinking. But as Merrill Jensen has noted, some of the leaders used terms such as "citizen," "commonwealth," and "independence" only after they had long been found in anonymous articles and letters in American newspapers. Certainly the colonies were far from united on any alternative and were relieved at the lull after 1770. Many had disliked the infringement on the market and on property rights that had been a part of public pressure brought to bear in the economic boycotts.

But things were not completely quiet during 1770 and after. There were the Boston "Massacre," continuing tensions between American smugglers and the British navy and customs commissioners, and efforts by the British to take away from the Americans the power of purse to pay various governmental salaries, as well as much of the court system, as American juries refused to convict on cases involving smuggling. A major result of these continuing problems was that the Americans extended formal Committees of Correspondence to facilitate communication between the various colonies with respect to the latest British actions and how best to respond to them.

It is significant that the action that initiated the final crisis—the Tea Act—was intimately connected with the struggle between inequality and equality of opportunity and before the law. The ultimate form of economic inequality is monopoly, which, as the most consistent of the Austrian School of economists, Murray Rothbard, has argued, can only be maintained by State intervention. The Tea Act was a mercantilist effort to aid that gross example of inefficiency and monopoly mercantilism, the East India Company.

Boston's Tea Party was the extreme form of protest that shook all four of the major port cities. The public sentiment behind the Tea Party was evident in the inability of the British to find out the identity of the "Indians" who had carried out the raid. (The Indians were careful, by the way, to replace some property that was damaged by mistake, housed as it was in a chest resembling those holding the tea.)

When the British responded with what the Ameri-

cans came to call the "Intolerable Acts," the Americans reacted in two ways. Most directly, there was a massive outpouring of aid to Massachusetts, sent in through Salem and elsewhere, since Boston's port had been closed. British attempts to reduce Massachusetts to a conquered province made it clear to every colony that the government could at any time inflict such punishment on them as well. The second reaction, ironically at the pressure of some of the conservatives, who feared some more precipitous action, was the calling of a Continental Congress.

RADICALS GAIN STRENGTH

The proceedings of the Congress demonstrated the growing strength of those Americans who refused to back down in the face of British coercion. The conservative Joseph Galloway's plan for reconciliation failed to pass, while the Congress initiated an Association to enforce a boycott of British goods.

In any successful revolution, however, the key factor is the shift in values that takes place long before any fighting, and it was that process to which John Adams referred when he said that "the revolution was in the mind and hearts of the people and in the union of the colonies, both of which were accomplished before hostilities commenced." As Richard Henry Lee, among others, pointed out in the Congress, while custom, colonial charters, and the British Constitution all were a part of the American argument, in the final analysis it rested upon the idea of natural law.

At the same time, the Americans were coming to reject any notion of the divine right of kings. Jokes about the King became commonplace among the people, a sure sign of the loss of legitimacy. Over a year later Thomas Paine, in his bestselling pamphlet *Common Sense,* was to capture the essence of American thinking: "A French bastard landing with an armed banditti and establishing himself king of England against the consent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry rascally original. It certainly hath no divinity in it."

It was not, of course, until July 1776 that enough of the more conservative delegates in the Congress, under growing popular pressures, would consent to a Declaration of Independence as the logical culmination of a protest movement that had not impressed upon the British government the slightest recognition that the Americans had any rights whatsoever. Thomas Jefferson's comment about the Declaration, that great natural law statement, made years later, is worth citing:

> When forced, therefore, to resort to arms for redress, an appeal to the tribunal of the world was deemed proper for our justification. This was the object of the Declaration of Independence. Not to find out new principles, or new arguments, never before thought of, not merely to say things which had never been said before; but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent, and to justify ourselves in the independent stand we [were] compelled to take. Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment, nor yet copied from any particular and previous writing, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind, and to give to that expression the proper tone and the spirit called for by the occasion.

But the actions of the Americans in late 1774 and early 1775, even before the fighting that broke out at Lexington and Concord on April 19, is the best evidence that the British government had lost its legitimacy in the eyes of Americans long before it was officially recognized. Operating through local and state committees right up to the Congress, the Association moved to set up what the French in Vietnam would later call "parallel hierarchies," that is, an alternate governmental system reflecting the will of the great majority of the people. Almost intuitively the Americans understood that they could never be beaten if the revolutionary committees continued to function as the legitimate representatives of the people and in concert with a militia whose primary task it was to keep order in their locale.

The protest movement had not impressed upon the British the slightest recognition that the Americans had any rights whatsoever.

Though British commanders such as General Thomas Gage later came to realize that they faced an entire, aroused country, Gage at first took the lack of American protest against the Intolerable Acts as a sign that they would be accepted. This was a complete misreading of the situation. People no longer bother to protest against institutions that they have rejected as illegitimate. The Americans were too busy setting up a militia, a government, and the apparatus to feed Massachusetts to bother much with further protests. Authority, without legitimacy, is reduced to the use of naked force. And that was all the British had left by 1775. The American response to British actions was a magnificient example of what I have referred to as "intersticism" (REASON, June 1975).

PEOPLE'S WAR

The essence of people's war is ideological. If a true social revolution were anything less than the overwhelming mass of a society shifting the basis of legitimacy, the society would simply fragment. The essence of leadership is found in the two-way

relationship and dialogue between the leaders and the larger mass of the people as the former articulate that shift in thinking. Once that shift has occurred, there is an opportunity for the leadership, operating within the broad parameters of that new legitimacy, which is necessarily abstract, to direct policy on some specific issues in ways that may not reflect the thinking of the majority of the people. If they transgress those parameters, as happened in Russia after 1917, they may, in fact, literally "gut" the revolution and bring it to a grinding halt.

In emphasizing, however, that mass of Americans which shifted the basis of its view of legitimacy, joined in protest and economic boycott against the British, fought to defend its rights and property, and eventually proclaimed its independence, I do not wish to obscure some of the differences within that revolutionary coalition. One cleavage, as noted earlier, focused around equality, as I have defined it, as opposed to egalitarianism. Some wanted a national power, while others hoped to see government, to the extent it existed, essentially at the state or local level. Finally, to oversimplify for the sake of brevity, an important division existed between those who desired a republic and those who wanted an empire. Given those variables, all kinds of combinations were possible. The American Revolution might be termed "an anticolonial, civil, expansionist, people's war." The "hooker," in that it contradicted the other three factors and therefore prevented their speedier realization, was the "expansionist" aspect of the war.

Expansionist dreams of empire often took precedence over the idea of a people's war of self-defense.

John Adams was one American who worried about empire, characterized by arbitrary, centralized government, as a recurring phenomenon in history. On the other hand, Americans such as Benjamin Franklin gloried in the idea of "this rising American Empire." Adams was understandably upset about the consistency and aims of a war effort that, with the British trapped in Boston late in 1775, did not organize to push them into the sea but wasted its manpower on what proved to be a disastrous expansionist adventure in Canada. To be sure, there was a British and Indian threat along the frontier, but the American response in the case of expeditions, such as that of George Rogers Clark, would seem to indicate that expansionist dreams of empire of took precedence over the idea of a people's war of self-defense. Those Americans who believe that the debate over whether this nation should be a republic or an empire—and it cannot be both in the long run—erupted in the 1960's, or even the 1890's, are simply mistaken. That fatal contradiction was there from the beginning.

One of the most important indications of the enormous popular support for the war can be seen in the Americans' ability to control the countryside through committees and militia, to fight the British, Hessians and Tories in a traditional and guerrilla war, to battle the English Navy at sea, and even to engage in some expansionist adventures in Canada and the West. It took some time for American leaders to grasp the essentials of guerrilla war, and Washington, despite his magnificent qualities as a leader, never quite adapted to that idea. But Nathaniel Greene, and especially Daniel Morgan, Francis Marion, and Andrew Pickens, was the equal of any of the great guerrilla or partisan warfare leaders in military history. The war also had a way of weeding out commanders who owed their positions to status-inequality or had been elected for their popularity by fellow members of the militia. It took time, and some defeats, but the leaders who finally emerged were those who, given the opportunity, had been able to produce victories.

Leaders such as Washington were constantly downgrading the militia, but the truth is, when used properly and with imagination, the militia fought well. They were intelligent enough to see little sense to the "stand up and fire at the other guy" tactic that characterized warfare then, and like any other troops they would scatter under an enormous artillery barrage, but in the end they made the difference. Like guerrilla fighters through the ages, the Americans often went back to their farms, but they always returned to fight again, or as General Greene put it, "We fight, get beat, and rise to fight again." And, as the military historian John Shy has observed: "The militia never failed in a real emergency. . . . From the British viewpoint, the militia was the virtually inexhaustible reservoir of rebel military manpower, and it was also the sand in the gears of the pacification machine."

IN BRITISH EYES

The British never understood that the Tory-Loyalists were only about one-sixth of the population, and that number shrank in the face of British atrocities and depredations as the war dragged on. Thus the American leader Andrew Pickens originally signed a loyalty oath but joined the conflict after the British destroyed his property. The Americans also practiced terror on the Tories, if "coercive persuasion" failed to carry the day, but it was strategic and selective, never threatening American legitimacy, whereas British reprisals against the population, the worst usually by Tories, were random and without real purpose.

The youth of the American troops was an indication of the widespread participation of a male population that only averaged sixteen years of age. Washington, the commander in chief, was only 43, his aide, Hamilton, a mere 20, but these were old men compared to many in the army. Andrew Jackson was

only 14 when wounded; the first atrocity of the war was probably committed by a 12-year-old as the wounded British tried to retreat from Concord; and even Americans at first made fun of the youth of "Swamp Fox" Marion's band of fighters. British political generals might initially make fun of the Americans and talk of quickly ending the war to return home soon, but the British who had to face the young Americans in the field found little to make fun of.

In America, the British soon learned that they faced a nation in arms against them. They knew this was true in New England and never dared a land campaign there after Lexington, Concord, or Breed's Hill, and soon even abandoned their enclave in Boston. It was in the middle colonies that British sympathy was supposedly strongest, and until late in the war some British commanders continued to hold to the myth of a vast Tory uprising should the army venture out to help them. In the face of that pipe dream was the reality of the American militia swarming around General Burgoyne's forces at Saratoga, and the fact that even in Pennsylvania it took over 3,000 British troops to guard the 15 miles of road over which supply wagons traveled from Chester to Philadelphia, and even then many fell victim to America militia. Late in the war, when the Hessians ventured out from New York to link up with these nonexistent Tory legions, they found themselves under constant harassment by the militia in New Jersey and quickly retreated to their enclave. Finally, we know what happened to General Cornwallis's forces at the conclusion of his costly campaign in the South.

GUERRILLA WAR

The British won many of the major battles—they could never win the war. The real story of the war was the continual harassment the Americans inflicted, much of which did not, and never will, make the history books. The great British problem was morale, as the English military historian Eric Robson suggested several decades ago. In typical guerrilla fashion the Americans would quickly attack and then retreat. The British seldom ventured out after dark in less than battalion strength, and the Americans knew their movements. As early as February 1777, Captain James Murray described "a pretty amusement known by the name of foraging or fighting for our daily bread. As the rascals are skulking about the whole country, it is impossible to move with any degree of safety without a pretty large escort." And, as Robson concluded, "continual harassment is worse than occasional large-scale actions to men whose morale is deteriorating."

It was not only that the British found themselves in a country that was hostile to them outside their enclave in New York City. There was a strong antiwar movement back in England, which, in the long run, was also important. Some of the best men in the army and navy refused to serve against the Americans, and that was one factor in the disastrous decision to hire Hessians to fight in America.

Once there had been a shift in legitimacy, the American rejection of the British peace offerings of 1778, which might have made some sense if offered many years before, was predictable. In fact, it was foreseen by a Scottish philosopher, Adam Smith, who was one of the intellectuals belatedly consulted by the government that year, and whose memorandum on the options, from his libertarian perspective, was probably not much heeded or appreciated.

In the end, there was only one debate possible within the high councils of the British military: whether to initiate a really bloody war of attrition and reprisal against the hostile Americans on the assumption that this was the way to halt a "domino effect," lest any of the other 17 British colonies in the New World become infected with the republican virus that had affected 13 of them. After all, a counterinsurgency policy that killed enough Americans could convince other colonists it was better to be alive than free. It is a lasting credit to the British that they rejected that formula, fit only for fanatics who had completely lost sight of the goal for which they once strove, which was, after all, to win back the hearts and minds of the American people.

That rejection was well described by a young officer, Colonel Charles Stuart, who doubted the capacity of the British to wage such a war of violent

WHO IS JOHN GALT?

Since you are reading this, you probably already know, and may wish to have one of my shirts.

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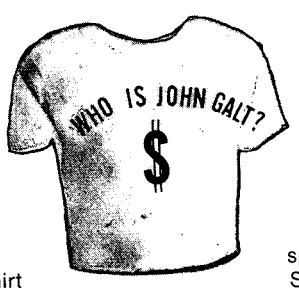

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attrition and worried what its effects might be upon the men who were asked to carry out "a war of ravage and destruction" when it was clear that no "acts of severity will cause these people to submit," though the army had already inflicted "every species of barbarity" with no other result than to plant "an irrecoverable hatred" in the mind of every American.

ABOUT THE REVOLUTION

It is very difficult to break off this narrative and analysis, which I also found hard to confine to a small book. There are, however, several interrelated points that I should like to make about the revolution and the war.

The first is that, despite the fact that the *means* by which the American Revolution progressed were not so very different from revolutionary struggles of the past and of this century as some Americans have at times imagined, it was a very different and radical revolution in its *ends*. That legitimacy shift toward natural law, republicanism, and sovereignty of the people was something very new, and the Americans of that era realized it and were justly proud of the fact.

Secondly, it was the one great revolution in history in which the idea of equality triumphed over either an accommodation with the inequalities of the old order, or radical egalitarianism. There is ample evidence that egalitarianism lurked just beneath the surface, ready to explode. Though there is not space to explore this complex issue here, a realization of the fact was perhaps the central motive of those, who were essentially equalitarians, who finally pushed for the adoption of the Constitution. The key to understanding that is to look neither at the nationalists of 1776, who remained so in 1787, nor at the confederationists, who were consistently so over those 11 years, but at those leaders in the middle, who shifted to a position advocating a national government.

It was the one great revolution in history in which the idea of equality triumphed.

They did so reluctantly, not so much to protect their property in the narrow sense, but because they saw a "newer" type of popular, egalitarian political leader coming to power at the local and state levels who found in government the key to his fortune. They saw in a national government a means of checking that kind of egalitarianism. What they accomplished was to postpone its reemergence as a force to be reckoned with for almost 40 years. But it did return, for the Jacksonian movement was composed of an incredibly unstable coalition of equalitarians, egalitarians, and even slaveholders, who wanted inequality. A good clue to the equality versus egalitarian nature of the conflict in 1787-89 is that the Federalist meetings invariably selected their best men to represent them in conventions, while the egalitarian-envy destructiveness of the Anti-Federalists often led them to choose their less able representatives.

Thirdly, the chance for a unique American equality owes an enormous debt to the British, who chose *not* to pursue a long, drawn-out war of counterinsurgency attrition, unlike the total warriors of the 20th century. R. R. Palmer is the only one, to my knowledge, to speculate, even though briefly, on what America might be like had the British attempted to pursue that alternative. The Americans would have won that much longer, bloody encounter also, and, as Page Smith notes, the French alliance was more an obstacle, despite Yorktown, than an advantage. But as Palmer suggests, the American society that emerged from such a conflict would have been much different. I believe it would have been more statist, egalitarian, and intolerantly nationalistic, much like many of the societies of the 20th century that have been pushed in that direction, even more than might otherwise have been the case, by continued Western, often American, intervention. Imagine the degree of militarism that would have characterized American society, one in which the young boys would have spent much of their lives in a war of atrocity against the British. They most certainly would not have put much of a premium on human life, and, how would they have felt about liberty?

Finally, the debate over a republic versus an empire is not new, but goes back to the birth of the nation. Our present antirevolutionary posture is but one indication of the progress of the imperial half of that unstable equation.

What then, can this generation of Americans learn from that people's war of two hundred years ago? First, we must kindle the desire for equality of opportunity and before the law in our own society to counter the present push toward either inequality or egalitarianism, which, ironically, with its socialist elite, ends up being a new kind of inequality. Secondly, equality is best fostered by severely limiting the power of government and by the free market, not by a schooling system with pieces of paper (degrees) so dear to American mandarin intellectuals since Jefferson, who was himself something of a Confucian. Thirdly, we must eliminate, once and for all, that imperial quest for power that has repeatedly contradicted the desire for a republic based on liberty and law. Finally, intervening in other revolutions, whether because of that imperial thrust or with the best of intentions, where the push for equality is very weak at best in the fight against feudal inequality, can only result in a more rapid victory for egalitarianism.

Let us strive not for the power of the Great Society, but for the creativity of the Good Society. ◻

America's Libertarian Revolution

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

With the beginning of the American Revolutionary War at the outbreak of Lexington and Concord, two truths about the Revolution already stand out clearly. One is that the Revolution was genuinely and enthusiastically supported by the great majority of the American population. It was a true people's war against British rule. The American rebels could certainly not have concluded the first successful war of national liberation in history, a war against the world's greatest naval and military power, unless they had commanded the support of the American people. As David Ramsay, the first great historian of the American Revolution, put it in 1789: "The War was the people's war . . . the exertions of the army would have been insufficient to effect the revolution, unless the great body of the people had been prepared for it, and also kept in a constant disposition to oppose Great Britain. "[For a discussion of the Revolution as a majority movement, see the article in this issue by William Marina - Ed.]

A second truth that emerges is the egregious fallacy of the view endemic among historians of all ideological persuasions that there is a large and necessary dichotomy between political or moral principle and economic self-interest. Historians friendly to the Revolution have insisted that the Americans fought for political freedom, for independence, for constitutional rights, or for democracy; critical historians maintain that the fight was *merely* for economic reasons, for defense of property and trade against British interference. But why must the two be sundered? Why may not a defense of American liberty *and* property, of political *and* economic rights be conjoined? The merchants rebelling against the stamp tax, or sugar or tea taxes, or restrictions of the Navigation Laws, were battling for their *rights* of property and trade free from interference. In doing so, they were battling for their own property and for the rights of liberty at the same time. The American masses, similarly, were battling for all property rights, for their own as well as those of the merchants, and acting also in their capacity as consumers fighting against British taxes and restrictions.

In reality there need be no dichotomy between

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liberty and property, between defense of the rights of property in one's person and in one's material possessions. Defense of rights is logically unitary in all spheres of action. And what is more, the American revolutionaries certainly *acted* on these very assumptions, as revealed by their essential adherence to libertarian thought, to political and economic rights, and always to "Liberty and Property." The men of the 18th century saw no dichotomy between personal and economic freedom, between rights to liberty and to property; these artificial distinctions were left for later ages to construct.

IDEOLOGY AND THE STATE

From the conclusions that the American revolutionaries commanded the loyalty of a large majority of the colonists and that they saw no dichotomy between liberty and economic rights, and therefore between ideology and economic interest, we may proceed to some broader speculations on the role of ideology as compared to economic interest in the various actions of politicial history. In particular, we contend that the *primary* motivations will tend to differ between two classes of political actions, between actions of the State in expanding its power over the populace and actions of the populace in moving or rebelling against State power. We contend that the actions of the former will tend to be *primarily* motivated by economic interest, while the latter will tend to be primarily motivated by more abstract ideological or moral concerns.

Why may not a defense of American liberty and *property, of political* and *economic rights, be conjoined?*

Let us see why this should be so. The essence of the State through history is a minority of the population, constituting a power elite or a "ruling class," governing and living off of the majority, or the "ruled." Since a majority cannot live parasitically off a minority without the economy and the social system breaking down very quickly, and since the majority can never act permanently by itself but must always be led by an oligarchy, every State will subsist by plundering the majority on behalf of a ruling minority. A further or corollary reason for the inevitability of minority rule is the pervasive fact of the division of labor: the majority of the public must spend most of its time going about the business of making a daily living. Hence the actual rule of the State must be left to full-time professionals who are necessarily a minority of the society.

Throughout history, then, the State has consisted of a minority plundering and tyrannizing over a majority. This brings us to the great question, the great mystery, of political philosophy: the mystery of civil obedience. From Étienne de La Boétie to David Hume to Ludwig von Mises, political philosophers have shown that no State—no minority—can continue long in power unless supported, even if passively, by the majority. Why then do the majority continue to accept or support the State when they are clearly acquiescing in their own subjection? Why do the majority continue to obey the minority?

Here we arrive at the age-old role of the intellectuals, the opinion-molding groups in society. The ruling class—be they warlords, nobles, bureaucrats, feudal landlords, monopoly merchants, or a coalition of several of these groups—must employ intellectuals to convince the majority of the public that their rule is beneficent, inevitable, necessary, and even divine. The leading role of the intellectual through history is that of the Court Intellectual, who in return for a share, a junior partnership, in the power and pelf offered by the rest of the ruling class, spins the apologies for State rule with which to convince a misguided public. This is the age-old alliance of Church and State, of Throne and Altar, with the Church in modern times being largely replaced by secular intellectuals and "scientific" technocrats.

When State rulers act, then, to use and aggrandize State power, their *primary* motivation is economic: to increase their plunder at the expense of the subject and the taxpayer. The ideology that they profess and that is formulated and spread through society by the Court Intellectuals is an elaborate rationalization for their economic interests. The ideology is the camouflage for their loot, the fictitious clothes spun by the intellectuals to hide the naked plunder by the Emperor. The economic motive behind the ideological garb of the State is, then, the heart of the issue.

ANTISTATISTS' PREOCCUPATIONS

But what of rebellions *against* State power—those infrequent but vital situations in history when the subjects rise up to diminish, whittle away, or abolish State power? What, in short, of such great events as the American Revolution or the classical liberal movements of the 17th and 18th centuries? Of course, an economic motive exists here too, in this case that of defending the private property of the subjects from the depredations of the State. But our contention here is that, even when conjoined as in the American Revolution, the *major* motive of the opposition, or of the revolutionaries, will be ideological rather than economic.

The basic reason for this assertion is that the ruling class, being small and largely specialized, is motivated to think about its economic interests 24 hours a day. The manufacturers seeking a tariff, merchants seeking to cripple their competition, bankers looking for taxes to repay their government bonds, rulers seeking a strong State from which to acquire revenue, bureaucrats wishing to expand their empire, are all

professionals in statism. They are constantly at work trying to preserve and expand their privileges. Hence the primacy of the economic motive in their actions.

But the majority has allowed itself to be misled largely because its immediate interests are generally diffuse and hard to observe, and because they are *not* professional "antistatists" but people going about their business of daily living. What can the average person know of the arcane processes of subsidy or taxation or bond issue? Generally he is too wrapped up in his daily life, too habituated to his lot after centuries of State-guided propaganda, to give any thought to his unfortunate fate. Hence, an oppostion or revolutionary movement, or indeed any mass movement from below, cannot be primarily guided by ordinary economic motives. For such a mass movement to form, the masses must be fired up, must be aroused to a rare and uncommon pitch of fervor against the existing system. But that requires an ideology. Only ideology, guided either by a new religious conversion or by a passion for justice, can arouse the interest of the masses (in the current jargon, "raise their consciousness") and lead them out of the morass of daily habit into an uncommon and militant activity in opposition to the State.

This is not to say that an economic motive—for example, defense of their property—does not play an important role. But to form a mass movement in opposition means that they must shake off the habits, the daily mundane concerns of several lifetimes, and become politically aroused and determined as never before in their lives. Only a commonly held and passionately believed-in ideology can perform that role. Hence our conclusion that a mass movement such as the American Revolution must have been centrally motivated by a commonly shared ideology.

IDEOLOGY FOR THE MASSES

How then do the masses of subjects *acquire* this guiding and determining ideology? By the very nature of the masses, it is impossible for them to arrive at such an opposition or revolutionary ideology on their own. Habituated as they are to their narrow and daily rounds, uninterested in ideology as they normally are, it is impossible for the masses to lift themselves up by their own bootstraps to hammer out an ideological movement in opposition to the existing State. Here we arrive at the vital role of the intellectuals. It is only intellectuals, the full-time (or largely full-time) professionals in ideas, who have either the time, the ability, or the inclination to formulate an opposition ideology and then to spread the word to the mass of the subjects. In contrast to the statist Court Intellectual, whose role is a junior partner in rationalizing the economic interests of the ruling class, the radical or opposition intellectual's role is the centrally guiding one of formulating the opposition or revolutionary ideology and then spreading the ideology to the masses, thereby welding them into a revolutionary movement.

An important corollary point: in weighing the motivations of the intellectuals themselves, or even of the masses, it is generally true that setting oneself up in opposition to an existing State is a lonely, thorny, and often dangerous road. It would usually be to the direct economic interests of the radical intellectuals to "sell out," to be coopted by the ruling State apparatus. Those intellectuals who choose the radical opposition path—who pledge, in the famous words of the American revolutionaries, "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor"—can scarcely be dominated by economic motives. On the contrary, only a fiercely held ideology, centering on a passion for justice, can keep the intellectual to the rigorous path of truth. Hence, again, the likelihood of a dominant role for ideology in an opposition movement.

The Court Intellectual spins the apologias for State rule.

ECONOMICS VS. IDEOLOGY

Thus, it turns out to be true that statists tend to be governed by economic motivation, with ideology serving as a smokescreen for such motives, while libertarians or antistatists are ruled principally and centrally by ideology, with economic defense playing a subordinate role. Through this dichotomy we may at last resolve the age-old historiographical dispute over whether ideology or economic interests play the dominant role in historical motivation.

We can now see why the Beard-Becker "economic determinist" model of human motivation, a dominant school of American history in the 1920's and 1930's, so fruitful and penetrating when applied to statist actions of the American government, fails signally when applied to the great *anti*statist events of the American Revolution. The Beard-Becker approach sought to apply an economic determinist framework and specifically a framework of inherent conflict between various major economic classes, to the American Revolution. The vital flaws in the Beard-Becker model were two-fold. First, they did not

Statists tend to be governed by economic motivation, with ideology serving as smokescreen for such motives.

understand the necessarily primary role of *ideas* in guiding any revolutionary or opposition movement. Second, they did not understand that there are no inherent economic conflicts on the free market; without government intrusion, there is no reason for merchants, farmers, landlords, et al. to be at loggerheads. Conflict is only created between those classes that rule the State as against those exploited by the State. Not understanding this crucial point, the Beard-Becker historians framed their analysis in terms of the allegedly conflicting class interests of, in particular, merchants and farmers. Since the merchants clearly led the way in revolutionary agitation, the Beard-Becker approach was bound to conclude that the merchants, in agitating for revolution, were aggressively pushing their class interests at the expense of the deluded farmers.

EXPLAINING AWAY IDEAS

But now the economic determinists were confronted by a basic problem: if indeed the revolution was against the class interests of the mass of the farmers, why did the latter support the revolutionary movement? To this key question the determinists had two answers. One was the common, mistaken view that the Revolution was only supported by a minority of the population. A second answer was that the farmers were deluded into such support by the "propaganda" beamed at them by the upper classes. In effect, these historians transferred the analysis of the role of ideology as a rationalization of class interests from its proper use to explain *State* action to a fallacious use in trying to understand antistate mass movements. In this approach, they relied on the jejune theory of "propaganda" pervasive in the 1920's and 1930's under the influence of Harold Lasswell: namely, that no one sincerely holds any ideas or ideology and therefore that ideological statements cannot be taken at face value but must be considered only as insincere rhetoric for the purposes of "propaganda." Again, the Beard-Becker school was trapped by its failure to give any primary role of ideas in history.

The consensus historians tried to absolve the American republic from the original sin of having been born via revolution.

After World War II, as part of the general "American celebration" among the American intellectuals of that era, the newly dominant "consensus school" of American history demonstrated that the Revolution was indeed supported by the majority of the population. Unfortunately, however, under the aegis of such major consensus theoreticians as the "neoconservatives" Daniel Boorstin and Clinton Rossiter, the consensus school moved to the truly absurd conclusion that the American Revolution, in contrast to all other revolutions in history, was not *really* a revolution at all, but a purely measured and conservative reflex against the restrictive measures of the Crown.

Under the spell of the American celebration and of a post-World War II hostility to all modern revolutions, the consensus historians were constrained to deny any and all conflicts in American history, whether economic or ideological, and to absolve the American republic from the original sin of having been born via revolution. Thus the consensus historians were fully as hostile to ideology as a prime motive force in history as their enemies, the economic determinists. The difference is that, where the determinists saw class conflict, the consensus school maintained that the genius of Americans has always been to be unfettered by abstract ideology of any kind and that instead they have met every issue as ad hoc, problem-solving pragmatists. Thus the consensus school, in its eagerness to deny the revolutionary nature of the American Revolution, failed to see that all revolutions against State power are necessarily radical and hence "revolutionary" acts, and further that they must be genuine mass movements guided by an informed and radical ideology.

REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

Fortunately, however, the most recent and now dominant school of historiography on the American Revolution—that of Professor Bernard Bailyn—brings radical ideology, and radical *libertarian* ideology at that, into the forefront of the causes of the Revolution. Against the hostility of both of the older schools of historians, Bailyn has managed, in scarcely a decade, to win his way through to become the leading interpretor of the Revolution. Bailyn's great contribution was to lay out for the first time the truly dominant role of ideology among the revolutionaries and to stress that, not only was the Revolution a genuine revolutionary and multiclass mass movement among the colonists, but also that it was guided and impelled, above all, by the ideology of radical libertarianism: hence what Bailyn happily calls the "transforming libertarian radicalism of the Revolution."

In a sense, Bailyn was harking back to an older generation of historians at the turn of the 20th century, the so-called Constitutionalists, who had also stressed the dominant role of ideas in the revolutionary movement. But Bailyn correctly saw that the mistake of the Constitutionalists was in ascribing the central and guiding role to sober and measured legalistic arguments about the British Constitution, and, secondarily, to John Locke's philosophy of natural rights and the right of revolution. Bailyn saw that this interpretation missed the major motive power of the Revolutionaries: Constitutional legalisms, as later critics pointed out, were dry-as-dust

arguments that hardly stimulated the requisite revolutionary passions and, furthermore, neglected the important problem of the economic depredations by Great Britain, while Locke's philosophy, though ultimately highly important, was too abstract to generate the passions or to stimulate widespread reading by the bulk of the colonists. Something, Bailyn rightly felt, was missing: the intermediate-level ideology that could stimulate revolutionary passions.

Bailyn found that missing ingredient in the radical libertarian Lockean English writers of the 19th century—especially Trenchard and Gordon of "Cato's" *Letters.* These writers applied and transformed Lockean natural rights theory into a radical and passionate, and explicitly political, libertarian and anti-British framework. Trenchard and Gordon, and the other influential libertarian writers, clearly and passionately set forth the libertarian theory of natural rights, went on to point out that government in general, and the British government specifically, was the great violator of such rights, and warned also that Power—government—stood ever ready to conspire to violate the liberties of the individual. To stop this crippling and destructive invasion of Liberty by Power, the people must be ever wary, ever vigilant, ever alert to the conspiracies by the rulers to expand their power and aggress against their subjects. It was this spirit that the American colonists eagerly imbibed and that accounted for their "conspiracy view" of the English government, a view that such historians as Bernhard Knollenberg have shown was basically correct, since, after 1760, such conspiracies were all too real. Thus, what some historians have derided as the "paranoia" of the colonists turns out to be not paranoia at all but an insightful apprehension of reality, an insight that was of course fueled by the colonists' libertarian understanding of the very nature and essence of state power itself.

Thus, in the deepest sense, the American Revolution was a conscious majority revolution on behalf of libertarianism and against Power, a libertarian ideology that stressed the conjoined rights of "Liberty and Property." The American Revolution was not only the first great modern revolution, it was a libertarian revolution as well. (For a further elaboration of this thesis, see Murray N. Rothbard, "Economic Determinism, Ideology, and the American Revolution," *Libertarian Forum* [Nov. 1974], pp. 4-7. Also see Rothbard, "The American Revolution Reconsidered," *Books for Libertarians* (July 1974), pp. 6-8. For a summary of Bailyn's views, see Bernard Bailyn, "The Central Themes of the American Revolution: An Interpretation," in S. Kurtz and J. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution* [Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1973], pp. 3-31.) ◻

SMITH INTERVIEW

(continued from page 21)

commerce of America naturally seemed to be an acquisition of the highest value. To the undiscerning eye of giddy ambition, it naturally presented itself amidst the confused scramble of politics and war as a very dazzling object to fight for. The dazzling splendor of the object, however, the immense greatness of the commerce, is the very quality which renders the monopoly of it hurtful. And to prohibit a great people from making all that they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind. Such prohibitions were impertinent badges of slavery imposed upon them.

REASON: Would you agree with the assessment that colonial or imperial ventures are inspired by business interests?

SMITH: *Well, yes and no.* To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers may at first sight appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers, but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers. Such statesmen, and such statesmen only, are capable of fancying that they will find some advantage in employing the blood and treasure of their fellow citizens to found and maintain such an empire.

REASON: As you wrote your book, events were leading rapidly into the American Revolution. Upon the occasion of our Bicentennial, could you take yourself back two centuries and give us your view from there?

SMITH: Unless some method is fallen upon of preserving the importance and of gratifying the ambition of the leading men of America, it is not very probable that they will ever voluntarily submit to us. They are very weak who flatter themselves that, in the state to which things have come, our colonies will be easily conquered by force alone. The persons who now govern the resolutions of what they call their continental congress felt in themselves at this moment a degree of importance which perhaps the greatest subjects in Europe scarce feel. From shopkeepers, tradesmen, and attorneys they are become statesmen and legislators and are employed in contriving a new form of government for an extensive empire, which, they flatter themselves, will become, and which, indeed, seems very likely to become, one of the greatest and most formidable that ever was in the world.

REASON: And on that note I think we will close. Thank you, Dr. Smith. You've been a most delightful guest. ◻

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE WELFARE STATE: DEMOCRACY'S SELF-DESTRUCTION

Copenhagen. It is quite well known that Denmark is a typical welfare state and has been so for quite a long time. As many other countries (including the USA) are striving to achieve a similar type of society, it should be of general interest to consider the experience which has accumulated in such a well-developed welfare state as this one. Particularly so, because at this point in time our welfare state is showing a very definite pattern of development which, I believe, is typical of any welfare state because it is caused by an inherent mechanism in that type of society.

At present 25 percent of the working population is employed by the public sector, 40 percent of the adult population (over 15 years) lives wholly or partly off welfare and 45 percent of the total net national product is at the disposal of the State (including local administration). The rate of growth of these factors surpasses that of the population growth and the economic growth and the prospect 10 years from now is really frightening. How and why we arrived at this point and what it will develop into within the next 10 years is what will be analyzed briefly in the present column.

The sources which I have used are mainly two official reports (more than 1000 pages in total) which have been elaborated by working groups appointed by the government in 1968 when the gravity of the situation became apparent even to the politicians. These reports contain a detailed status of all aspects of the Danish society including a prognosis until 1987 dealing in particular with the intersection between the public expenses and the economy as a whole.

The reports were published in 1971 and 1973, respectively, and painted a disastrous picture of the situation if it were allowed to continue—which is exactly what has been the case so far, to such an extent that the predictions of the first report about the increase in personnel and expenditure of the public sector were already exceeded at the time when the second report was being written.

The two reports were, of course, widely discussed and have at least given rise to some very interesting popular books on the subject (if not any real political action). Also, part of the popularity of the tax-negating Progress Party (which I have previously written about in this column) is probably an expression of the anxiety of the population in regard to the alarming forecasts.

What, then, is the cause of the explosive and seemingly uncontrollable growth of the public sector which gives reason to worry not only about the present situation but even more about the immediate future?

The basic ingredients of a welfare state are the generally accepted principles that the State must help those who cannot help themselves and that some form of income equalization must take place. This in a democratic system leads inevitably to the situation where everybody wants something for nothing (i.e., from the other taxpayers) and the public sector expands accordingly, especially that of health, education and welfare. This was particularly true during the happy, prosperous sixties with their expanding economy, and during those years a large number of welfare laws were passed whose economic consequences at a later stage were not taken into account. Furthermore, as the mechanism of the marketplace is completely out of function in connection with public expenditure, needs are boundless and the setting of priorities almost impossible.

All this is well known to a great many people, but what can be learned from the Danish experience is that at a certain point, when the welfare state is sufficiently developed, it acquires its own autonomous dynamics which keep it growing and growing with almost no possibility of stopping—at least not while still preserving democracy.

The forces behind this mechanism are mainly the economic interest of the public employees and those living off welfare or at least getting a bite of the pie, together with the political influence of these groups. Out of a total population of 5 million there are presently 1½ million living wholly or partly at the public expense (pensioners, invalids, students, and those working to produce and administer the public services) which means that 40 percent of the voters are economically directly dependent on the state. It is therefore not difficult to imagine that this condition alone makes it almost politically impossible to cut down the public budget.

In particular it can be seen that the public employees are gaining more and more power (especially those working in health, education and welfare which constitute 60 percent of the total number)—so much that those of them with a higher education are being called the new ruling class. They are the experts who participate in the preparation of the laws to be passed and who naturally have an unequalled expertise in explaining why their particular area more than any other needs expansion and not reduction, without any regard for cost/benefit relations. Their arguments are basically those of altruism and the common good and their motives are probably mainly a genuine interest for their work and a desire to make it grow. They are simply trying to improve their own existence but without being impeded by normal economic mechanisms.

Furthermore, experience has shown (quite predictably) that when people have become accustomed to get something from the state, they will under no circumstances be willing to give it up. This is not only valid for those that under the present conditions are directly dependent on welfare for their living but also applies to those who receive minor benefits such as free or reduced medical aid, cheap housing, free education, free library service, etc., which means every citizen in the country. And quite understandably so, because everyone knows that if he gives up something he will get nothing in return, and the distant goal of tax reduction is no longer believed in as it has too often been seen to turn into tax increases instead.

The result is a society which presents the sad picture of every group fighting the other groups in order to maintain and enlarge its benefits at the expense of the other groups. A society which is so permeated by the public sector that nobody is the master of his own life because any small change in the laws may radically change his living conditions. A society which shows signs of a growing disbelief in the democratic system because of its inability to deal with the economic difficulties created by the growth of the welfare state while at the same time it has become politically almost impossible even to slow down the rate of growth as too many people make their living by producing that growth.

But if the present difficulties are great, the prospects for the immediate future *are really frightening.* In the second of the official reports mentioned above, it is foreseen, on the basis of all the material gathered in the report, that by 1987 the total working force in the private sector will be reduced by about 100,000 persons while the number of adult persons receiving their income from the public sector (i.e., as employees and welfare beneficiaries) will be increased by about 700,000. This means that instead of supporting one person on the public payroll as the worker in the private sector is doing now, he will have to support 1½ persons in addition to the children and women who are not in production. It also means that the percentage of voters directly dependent on the state will just about exceed 50 percent.

Normally I'm very sceptical about doomsday theories—but in this case I must reluctantly admit that just the basic figures and their political implications lead directly into economic and/or political disaster within the next decade if nothing drastic is done. However, it does not seem possible to do anything about it because too many people have become dependent on the state and its growth. And that is precisely the lesson to be learned from the Danish social experiment, that having reached a certain stage the welfare state can no longer be controlled by democratic means but continues to grow as if of its own accord like a cancerous tumor or a population of bacteria until it reaches self-destruction.

Anne Brincker

VIEWPOINT

THE PANAMA CANAL CAPER

Ronald Reagan has been making a great deal of hay in the primaries with a demagogic and jingoistic campaign on behalf of maintaining the alleged sovereignty of the United States over the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone. The Ford Administration reply that the treaty with Panama retained ultimate sovereignty in the hands of Panama is correct but only scratches the surface of the problem. One neglected point is that the Canal Zone is an egregious example of socialism in action, since the U.S. government owns not only the Canal but the entire Zone territory, and every Zonian resident is a U.S. government employee. How can an alleged opponent of Big Government devote so much energy to a persistent defense of an enclave of U.S. socialism?

A second neglected point—neglected by Americans, of course, not the Panamanians—is *how* the United States came to exercise total occupation and control of a slice of Latin America that is clearly not part of the United States. The answer is a naked imperialist power grab, in which our first openly imperialist President, Theodore Roosevelt, engineered a phony "revolution" in northern Colombia, a coup directed by officials of the American-built Panama Railroad Co., and then quickly defended by U.S. troops against attempts of the Colombians to land troops to put down the coup.

The U.S.-organized coup was justified by Roosevelt as a protection of American taxpayers against the desire of the Colombian government to "hold up" the United States for an extra $10 million for the right to build a canal across the isthmus of Panama in northern Colombia. The actual facts, however, were very different. The United States had agreed to pay $40 million to the virtually bankrupt French-owned Panama Canal Co., for the right to build a canal, and what the Colombian government wanted was *not* an extra $10 million from the U.S., but $10 million to come out of the agreed-upon $40 million. In other words, President Roosevelt organized the power-grab, engineered a coup in Colombia, and quickly recognized the "rebels," *not* to save American taxpayers any money, but to save $10 million for the French Panama Canal Co.

Why was the U.S. government so tender to a bankrupt French canal company? The answer is that the company's stock had all been quietly purchased in advance by a syndicate of powerful Wall Street financiers, close to Roosevelt, including J. P. Morgan and Co., George W. Perkins, Morgan partner, Herbert Saterlee (a Morgan son-in-law), H. H. Rogers and James Stillman, close to the Rockefellers, Paul M. Warburg and Jacob H. Schiff of Kuhn-Loeb, Nelson P. Cromwell, a founder of the Wall Street law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, and Douglas Robinson, brother-in-law of Teddy Roosevelt. The syndicate purchased the shares at two-thirds of par, and, after the coup, were able to sell their shares to the U.S. government, now in charge of the prospective canal, for 130 percent of par, thus doubling their investment.

After purchasing the shares, the syndicate hired William Nelson Cromwell, of the Cromwell family, for $830,000 to lobby for an American takeover of the canal. It was Cromwell who literally sat in an office of the White House and who wrote the orders for Roosevelt by which the President engineered the imperialist grab of the isthmus of Panama. Later, after the coup was accomplished, Cromwell, as fiscal agent of the syndicate, invested $6 million of their ill-gotten gains in New York City real estate mortgages through the real-estate firm of Roosevelt's brother-in-law, Douglas Robinson.

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

When these ugly facts were brought to light several years later by the New York *World* and the Indianapolis *News,* President Roosevelt attempted to bring indictments against these newspapers for "criminal libel" against himself. Fortunately, in a notable victory for freedom of the press against attempted suppression, the Supreme Court quashed the indictments. (The full story of the Panama Canal caper can be found in a book by one of the New York *World* journalists, the highly conservative Earl Harding, in *The Untold Story of Panama,* New York: Athene Press, 1959.)

Thus, the Panama Canal case demonstrates, with shining clarity, how behind the typi-

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BOOKS

DE-MANAGING AMERICA: THE FINAL REVOLUTION. By Richard Cornuelle. New York: Random House. 1975. 147 pp. $7.95.

Reviewed by John McClaughry

Richard Cornuelle is the latest in a long line of modern-day Americans who have tuned out and turned on. Unlike countless young people awash in Consciousness III, however, Cornuelle had actually amounted to something before chucking it all. He rose through corporate and foundation ranks to the awesome position of Executive Vice President of the National Association of Manufacturers, a title which, Cornuelle admits, tended to produce fear and trembling among people introduced to him at cocktail parties.

But Cornuelle, after an intense period of soul searching—or, more accurately, searching for his increasingly elusive soul—finally quit. He gave up the perquisites of his plush office, which included a "girl" to perform chores, a skyscraper suite with a window, and the privilege of supervising the annual printing of "Industry Believes." He let his hair grow, moved out of the Metropolitan Club to groovier quarters, and began to dig life.

This hegira from orthodoxy was accompanied by the recognition that authority is not only bad for you and your family, but also doesn't work. We are in the throes of a new revolution, Cornuelle says. It is a widespread, grassroots rebellion against all sorts of authority. America is becoming unmanageable because people don't want to be managed any more. The Consciousness III attitude that Charles Reich discovered among the campus generation is rapidly pervading our entire society.

Will society collapse from this defiance of authority? No, says Cornuelle, there is hope because millions of people across this land keep on quietly getting their jobs done, building their communities, and creating reasonably satisfactory lives for their families, all by generally ignoring edicts and fiats imposed upon them by all sorts of would-be managers.

Government, business, foundations and the media all come in for some sharp words. The media limit coverage to events of importance, thereby neglecting the millions of small non-events which, taken together, constitute a leaderless revolution in American life. The foundations spend their funds to start up projects which they hope the government will take over in a year or two, or on exercises like "Airmail from God," a project one of Cornuelle's foundations funded some years ago whereby Protestant literature was leaflet-bombed on Catholic provinces of Mexico. (It should be noted, however, that some of the foundation projects that Cornuelle finds meaningful—such as "building self-esteem among female flight attendants" and "a skiing program for blind people," might well be ranked with the salvation-through-litter program he ridicules.)

Despite the obligatory rhetoric, Cornuelle reports from considerable experience, businessmen have "never hesitated for a moment to conspire with government officials to shelter themselves from the harsher half of the free enterprise gospel," i.e., competition. The worst report card of all, not surprisingly, goes to government, particularly the Federal government. Besides meddling unconscionably, and usually disastrously, in social and economic matters, government also obstructs peoples' efforts to deal with their own problems.

Citing with approval recent advances in performance contracting and voucher systems, Cornuelle states that the role of the government should be "to modify the atmosphere of incentives in which people and institutions function." REASON readers may find this an insufficient policy prescription. For it is precisely the determination of governments to "modify incentives" in every area of human activity that has gotten us into this sorry state. It might well be better for government to continue disincentives to threats to life, liberty, and property, and leave their presently overmanaged subjects free to grapple with the problems of their lives, among which foolish, expensive and coercive governmental schemes would no longer be included.

De-Managing America, for all its good intentions, is something of a series of Rotary Club addresses—glimpses, snippets, and anecdotes not developed in any depth. Each chapter would doubtless make for an entertaining half hour between the orange sherbet and the 1:15 mandatory adjournment. But as a serious analysis of our overly managed society, the book fails to offer any satisfactory explanation for the genesis of this anti-managerial revolution, and it fails to distinguish between counterproductive, oppressive and stupid management on one hand, and the necessary organization of the productive process on the other.

Cornuelle's theme is one that will win the assent of libertarians, but a convincing explanation of the de-management rebellion it is not, nor is it a persuasive, documented guidebook to redesigning our institutions to make room for a salutary dose of anarchy. ◻

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NATURAL LAW, OR THE SCIENCE OF JUSTICE. By Lysander Spooner. New York: Libertarian Forum, 1974. 4 pp. $.10.

Reviewed by Paul Beaird

Respect for tradition can take the morbid form of the personally passive nostalgia buff, or it can be motivated by the high enthusiasm of a search for a morally inspiring sight of the actions and words of those who have lived before us. In most cases it is the last that makes the libertarian seek out the histories and tracts of past fighters for freedom: he wants moral fuel for today's fight. One of the most outstanding of such heroes in American history not connected with the American Revolution is Lysander Spooner. By now every libertarian is familiar with his trenchant criticism of the non-voluntary use of the U.S. Constitution as a social contract, in his book *No Treason.* Now *Libertarian Forum* has reprinted a long-dormant pamphlet, "Natural Law, Or The Science Of Justice," which was intended to be part of a longer work on that subject. It is a valuable work for libertarians, because it argues from the basis of natural law. But often the lesson to be learned from those who did not succeed in establishing liberty before us is just where they went wrong. For those of us who agree that reason and morality, better ideas, determine the course of history, it is important to see where the ideas of our predecessors went wrong, and thus were unconvincing. So it is with Spooner's tract on natural law and justice.

We are all familiar with the failure of the various theological arguments from analogy. One of them argues that since we observe laws in nature there must be a lawmaker.

The reply is that this confuses two different facts and two uses of the term "law." Laws of nature are descriptions of the actions of entities in a specified context in nature. Human-made laws are prescriptions for human actions in a social context. The confusion is between descriptive and prescriptive laws. The error is the attempt to collapse the first category into the second, making it merely another example of the second, and calling God the prescriber of nature's actions. The distinction between these two kinds of law has a basis in fact. The first applies to entities which act automatically in terms of their nature and in response to their environment, entities which have no choice and which cannot be hurt. The second kind of law pertains to beings which can choose their actions, can be hurt, and can be persuaded to proper social behavior by sanctions on some of their actions.

Lysander Spooner makes the same mistake in the reverse direction. Several times he argues that justice is a natural law and needs no human legislation appended to it. He thereby attempts to collapse the human-made into the metaphysical (or, nature-made), hoping to blot the man-made justice out of existence.

But the behavior in people that would result in justice ("do harm to no man") does not occur automatically, as actions in nature (with inanimate matter) do. Humans choose, and whether by choice or accident, they can and do hurt other humans. Whatever automatic "justice" one wants to talk about in nature, justice among people is often upset and has to be restored. That is the proper subject of legislation (human-made law).

Lysander Spooner compounds this conceptual error by adding a second to it. He argues that either justice is a natural law (in which case legislation is a useless redundancy), or it is an arbitrary human imposition of the will of some people over others with no natural basis in fact.

This argument is an example in the category of special pleading called "the verbal either-or." The verbal either-or is a false dichotomy used to describe a situation which turns out to have more alternatives in reality than the ones included in the description. Karl Marx invented one which is responsible for the opposite answers of Liberals and Conservatives to the question: shall government favor the economic interests of labor or business? This ignores the libertarian alternative that government shall have no economic powers with which to favor anyone's interests.

The anarchist R. A. Childs, Jr. invented a verbal either-or, arguing that when a limited government is faced with the operation of privately-hired defense agencies within its jurisdiction, it can either leave them be and lose its claim to monopoly status over the legal use of force within its jurisdiction, or it can lose its claim to voluntarism by forcibly eliminating its competitors. This ignores the nature of a proper government's "monopoly:" it holds jurisdiction only over lands whose owners have subscribed to it as the final arbiter over the use of force and over disputes between themselves. Mr. Childs misses the fact that a proper government can allow defense agencies to operate without losing its monopoly status simply by treating their personnel as it does all other individuals: they may act as they choose until they use force against anyone who did not consent to their actions. Defensive action can be used by anyone, but the users will be held responsible to the law which has jurisdiction there.

A third historic verbal either-or was invented by Plato in his body-soul dichotomy. Today religionists claim that the soul (human consciousness) is the real "person," while reductionists argue that man is an animal (body and behavior, minus mind) much like a machine. This ignores the fact that the human person is an integration of matter and consciousness, and that it is the integration of those two that makes one the living and intelligent being that one is.

It is a shame to see Spooner, whose reputation is in the tradition of natural rights philosophers, fall victim to an error of logic with its own destructive tradition. The alternative that he overlooks in his nerve-straining effort to argue on a fundamental, basic-facts-first level is that justice cannot occur regularly among choosing beings *unless* they choose to construct some mutually acceptable procedure for implementing it. The evidence for the need of justice does lie in (human) nature, but because that nature includes the capacity for choice, justice will not occur automatically. To more regularly control that which exists as a potential in nature, people construct tools. The legislation that enables justice to be practiced among people in a social context is such a tool.

In fact, the need for this tool is due to limitations in the scope of nature's reaction to human actions. In nature, a person who takes an action reaps the results of its natural consequences. This is natural justice. But in a social context, the actions a person takes may fall on someone else. And, the course of nature ends once the consequences have fallen, even if they fell on someone different from the person who acted. If the receiver of the consequences did not agree to this, that is not justice. Nature has exhausted its own possibilities for justice at this point. A separate series of actions (restitution and punishment, perhaps) must be initiated by a being intelligent enough to guide them to the restoration of justice. This is human-made justice. And unless people are to be punished for actions they did not know were crimes, legislation is one form the guidance of intelligence will take.

Lysander Spooner gives us a valuable lesson in how not to argue the case for liberty from natural law. Natural law is an argument libertarianism needs. If there is a factual basis in (human) nature for justice, then there is validity in those institutions people make to achieve it. But the logical connection between the metaphysical (natural) and the human-made cannot be established by collapsing examples of one into the opposite category. Nor can the human-made be validated by obliterating it with false dichotomies.

By all means read the tract and enjoy, then work all the harder for the philosophical rigor libertarianism really needs. ◻

Paul Beaird has a B.A. in English from California State University in Los Angeles. He is a past chairman of the Alaska Libertarian Party and is national director of Citizens for Quality in Medicine.

COMING NEXT MONTH

The August issue will feature an exclusive REASON interview with Nicholas von Hoffman, in which the nationally-syndicated columnist gives his views on the Libertarian Party and 1976 politics. Also in the issue will be Russell Barsh on the conflict among Indians, the Federal government, and mining companies over minerals on Indian lands, plus Arthur Shenfield and David Friedman on the topic "Must We Abolish Government?" The issue will also feature reviews of *Language and Women's Place,* and *Death of a Man,* Tibor Machan's Viewpoint, Davis Keeler's Money column, a report from our correspondent in Argentina (if it gets through), and all of REASON's regular columns and features.

MOVIES

• **THE BAD NEWS BEARS** is good news for movie fans, who can expect a big dose of pure entertainment, as well as food for thought, as they watch a team of misfits struggling to make good in Little League baseball. Director Michael Ritchie, whose recent movie *Smile* exposed the cynical manipulations behind teenage beauty pageants, here probes both the constructive and destructive aspects of the "competitive spirit" promoted by children's sports. In terms of both integrity and common sense, the kids come off as far superior to the adults, who include a meddling local politician, a coach obsessed with winning, and assorted parents attempting to achieve reflected glory through their children. The most sympathetic grownup on hand is Walter Matthau, as a beer-guzzling, over-the-hill minor league player who is tapped to coach a rag-tag "expansion" team. After a disastrous first game, Matthau manages to save the team from oblivion with the aid of a ringer, Tatum O'Neal, who comes on as chief pitcher and the only girl on the team. As the plot centers on the Bears' drive toward a showdown for the league championship, the movie allows for some character development, as Tatum O'Neal vainly attempts to re-establish a romantic relationship between her mother and Matthau. Most of the acting is first-rate; Ritchie has a gift for allowing children to act naturally, without either hamming it up or stifling themselves. There is quite a bit of excitement and natural humor in Little League baseball, and this movie bites off a good chunk of it. Rated "PG." **Charles F. Barr**

• **THE DUCHESS AND THE DIRT-WATER FOX** is a tacky comedy-western that misfires badly in its attempt to wring laughter from the exploits of a couple of con artists. George Segal is more pathetic than sympathetic as an inept cheater at cards, while Goldie Hawn fares only slightly better as a dance-hall girl attempting to become a "lady" by passing herself off as a prospective governess for a large Mormon family. The movie suffers from at least two major flaws: its humor depends for the most part on worn-out chase gags, and its characters, at best, are not very likeable. Nor are the actors helped by a screenplay that generally just plods along. In the few worthwhile sight gags, Segal's horse appears to have the best parts, stepping away when Segal attempts to leap upon him from a second story window, and later leaving Segal and Hawn hung out to dry while pursuing a lady horse. Perhaps the movie would have been better with Segal's horse in the lead. Rated "PG."—**C.F.B.**

• The title of Lina Wertmuller's **ALL SCREWED UP**, made in 1974 before *Swept Away,* is a reference to both modern industrial society as she sees it and one of her forlorn characters whose every pregnancy results in a multiple birth, thereby increasing her family's grinding poverty. Her husband, like several others in this political comedy, has come from Sicily to Milan where the impact of urban life on country peasants is devastating. In this respect the film is reminiscent of Visconti's *Rocco and His Brothers,* but without Visconti's vision. It is a mean, narrow little film that once again combines Miss Wertmuller's distaste for private economic motivation with her peculiarly ungallant attitude towards women. The city turns everyone into whores and thieves in order to survive, and women are seen as the chief among scheming manipulators, looking at everything, including personal relationships, in terms of monetary value. This is a situation, Miss Wertmuller suggests, that capitalism has created and that some form of socialism can cure. But Miss Wertmuller wants to have her cake and eat it too. At one point in the film the tenants of an old apartment building, the lone survivor in a jungle of high-rises, manage to have the building declared both an historic landmark and subject to rent control, and this is seen as a victory over the exploiting developers who want to tear down the building and put up a new structure. At another point, however, Miss Wertmuller is lashing out against the government's anti-abortion stand that forces women to resort to unsanitary abortion mills. The film ironically points out that there can be no surrender of economic freedom to government without a loss of personal freedom, and yet it appears that this is precisely what Miss Wertmuller would like to achieve. If Miss Wertmuller is not a particularly lucid thinker, she is nevertheless one of the most compelling filmmakers today. Her films are beautifully acted and full of high energy, and *All Screwed Up* is no exception. If you can accept her on her own terms, or perhaps in spite of them, her films will at the very least provide a good deal of entertainment. Rated "PG."—**James F. Carey**

Walter Matthau gives some pointers to his Little League team, including Tatum O'Neal, in *The Bad News Bears.*

LUCIFER'S LEXICON
by L. A. Rollins

Honorable, adj. A formal title of courtesy for certain disreputable officials.

idiot, n. In its original Greek usage, the word meant "a private person." Now it is properly used to signify "a public figure."

ingrate, n. A person not properly appreciative of benefits received, as, for example, one who looks a Trojan horse in the mouth.

SPOTLIGHT

In 1970 an outspoken paperback book appeared in college bookstores across the country. Using the language of the counterculture, *A Radical's Guide to Economic Reality* explained how large corporations in league with the State keep prices high by avoiding competition; how government welfare, rent control, and housing programs victimize the poor; and how the "public sector" generally works against individuals who wish to live their lives in peace. The author of this cleverly-written volume was a mysterious "Angus Black." Only when later editions included a photograph did students at the University of Washington recognize the author as Roger LeRoy Miller, one of the school's most popular young economics professors.

A Radical's Guide was merely a prelude to what must rank as one of the most prolific publishing careers in the history of economics. Since 1970 Roger Miller has *averaged* nearly five books per year, in addition to articles, reviews, teacher's manuals, monographs, and pamphlets. This massive output includes other contributions from Angus Black, such as *A Radical's Guide to Self-Destruction* (on the economics of victimless crimes) and "Ripping Off the Land" in *Business and Society Review.* Since 1972, though, the pseudonyms have disappeared as the name Roger LeRoy Miller has become increasingly well-known. In addition to frequent appearances in professional journals, Miller's articles have also graced national-circulation periodicals such as *National Review* and *Harper's.*

Perhaps the chief source of Miller's growing renown, however, is his role as author of college textbooks. This aspect of his career began with the 1971 publication of *The Economics of Public Issues,* co-authored with D. C. North. This book, together with its instructor's manual, is now in its third edition and is used in courses across the country. Its message is much the same as that of *A Radical's Guide,* though couched in more academic language: the economic system works best when the State refrains from intervening. 1971 also saw publication of two other texts: *Applied Econometrics* (with P. Rao) and *The Economics of National Issues* (with R. M. Williams).

But Miller was not content to rest on his initial publishing laurels. While dashing off several additional books on current issues (including *The New Economics of Richard Nixon: Freezes, Floats, and Fiscal Policy),* Miller was preparing his most successful textbook to date: *Economics Today* (Harper & Row, Canfield Press, 1973). The book has already become a standard introductory text, and is the most likely contender to eventually displace Paul Samuelson's *Economics* as the leading introductory college economics text. Since Miller's book, in contrast to Samuelson's, is markedly anti-interventionist and post-Keynesian, such a development would be welcome news to all who value economic freedom. The book and its instructor's manual and student workbook are already in their second editions. Miller has also expanded the book into two separately-published volumes, one on microeconomics and the other on macro.

ROGER LEROY MILLER

Along the way he has published such other texts as *Economic Issues for Consumers* (for junior colleges), *The Economics of Energy: What Went Wrong?,* and *Abortion, Baseball, and Weed: Economic Issues of Our Time* (with D. C. North).

All of which marks Roger Miller as an unusual economist—a free marketer with an unusual ability to communicate economic issues in a way that average people can understand. Perhaps this ability grows out of Miller's working-class background. As a child he began work at age five, picking cotton, grapes, olives, strawberries, and raspberries in the fields around Fresno and Visalia, California. At age 11 his family moved to Los Angeles, where he worked five years in a pizza parlor. In high school and college he was a member of the Teamster's Union and worked for Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. Thus, in contrast to many academics, Miller has a very good feel for the world faced by everyday working people.

Miller's quick mind and drive to understand led to rapid academic success, despite his nonacademic origins. He graduated Summa Cum Laude from the University of California at Berkeley, earned a Phi Beta Kappa key, and studied for his University of Chicago Ph.D. on a variety of fellowships. He is a member of four professional associations and serves as a referee for four academic journals, including the *American Economic Review* and the *Journal of Political Economy.* After six years of teaching at the University of Washington, he was asked in 1974 by Henry Manne to help establish the Law and Economics Center at the University of Miami (see "Spotlight," May 1976). He now serves as Associate Director of the Center and holds a full professorship in economics at Miami.

Miller's recent activities typify his busy and diverse schedule. He is at work on a book on the law and economics of Social Security and a textbook on intermediate micro theory for McGraw-Hill. Fluent in Spanish, he is now lecturing periodically at Universidad Francisco Marroquin in Guatemala City; last fall he gave a graduate course in monetary theory there. He is also a principal speaker at the L&EC's economics institutes for law professors and Congressional staff aides, and helped to draft the recently-enacted Florida Economic Impact Disclosure Act.

Roger Miller's works provide important ammunition in the ongoing fight to establish the optimality of the free market. And he knows it. "My goal," he says, "is to change things little by little; this can only be done by selling lots of books." Judging from his success to date, Miller is well on the way to accomplishing that goal. ◻

Readers are invited to nominate persons to be featured in this column. Send details to Spotlight, c/o REASON, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

"Indeed, socialism in the form of centrally-planned economies seems to me a gigantic fraud. It does not liberate the human spirit. It produces societies which are dull, tyrannical, uniform, and ultimately defenseless against the abuse of highly centralized power."—Kenneth E. Boulding, Technology Review

SCI-FI

REVOLUTIONARY SF

Hope springs eternal, and so does revolution. Ours is still a revolutionary age, but it is one that has been hard on revolutionary ideals. Hope there may be, but of fulfillment there is little.

Often it seems as if the world has become exhausted by revolution; that revolution is now only a sterile ritual in a game played by cynical leaders in a struggle for personal power, revenge against real and imagined enemies, control of diminishing natural resources. . . .

Yet hope there remains in science fiction, which can even call new worlds into existence to redress the balance of the old. And should fact follow fiction, as it often has before, the future of human freedom can still be more than a hope.

One recent novel, Ben Bova's *Millenium,* pits barely a thousand colonists of the American and Soviet lunar settlements against the combined Great Powers of Earth—both to secure their own independence and prevent a world war by seizing the control centers for the American and Soviet anti-missile laser satellites.

Bova, best-known as editor of *Analog,* may not be one of the great sf writers, and as fiction, *Millenium* is rather pedestrian. But he knows his facts—when he tells you the kind of revolution he describes could succeed, you can believe him.

Millenium, of course, is part of a long and honorable tradition, of which the high-water mark was perhaps Robert A. Heinlein's *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress* (1966), a novel so familiar to libertarians by now it need hardly be described—save to say that Heinlein too knows his facts, even if a sentient computer to lead a revolution remains, for the time being, speculation.

There were revolutions in science fiction long before anyone thought of the Moon as a base for one—perhaps the earliest of note was *Caesar's Column* (1890), by Ignatius Donnelly, a Populist whose account of a bloody and totally destructive revolt by an enslaved proletariat against the Wicked Capitalists was intended as a warning against what America could expect if it failed to embrace Populism.

Socialism still seemed a fair dream then, and was exploited in such novels as Jack London's *The Iron Heel* (1907), in which the heroic Ernest Everhard leads the bitter struggle against the tyranny of wealthy oligarchs; and George Allan England's *The Air Trust* (1915), in which an attempt to corner the oxygen "market" backfires on the monopolists and leads to their downfall.

Fellow-travelers notwithstanding, this sort of revolutionary sf failed to survive the Russian revolution—except in Russia. In the West, a sense of disillusionment was expressed in such works as Edward Shanks' *People of the Ruins* (1919), in which a socialist revolution leads England back to medieval conditions. In J. D. Beresford's *Revolution* (1920), a reactionary counter-revolution defeats the socialists, but the novel ends on a Spenglerian note of despair for the future of Western civilization.

In America, there was a "patriotic" reaction, and the first to exploit it seems to have been none other than Edgar Rice Burroughs of *Tarzan* fame. Shortly after World War I, he planned a series of stories that was to depict the Communist conquest of the United States and a subsequent revolution against the conquerors.

Apparently Burroughs' editors didn't think this situation was exotic enough for the creator of Barsoom (scene of *A Princess of Mars* et seq.), so he rewrote the work to make the conquerors Moon men and it came out as *The Moon Maid* (1923), *The Moon Men* (1925) and *The Red Hawk* (also 1925)—a disjointed series that mixes interplanetary adventure with flag-waving and even the return of the Red Man.

Burroughs set the pattern for writers like Charles R. Tanner in "Tumithak of the Corridors" (1932) et. seq.—stories of revolutions by Us against Them. But this school did lead to more fruitful works—John W. Campbell Jr., in his Don A. Stuart guise, gave some psychological and philosophical depth to what had become a trite them of interplanetary conquest and rebellion.

In a 1935 series, "The Machine," "The Invaders" and "Rebellion," over-dependence on the machine opens up the Earth to easy conquest by an alien race. But when the aliens try to breed an "improved" human race, they get more than they bargained for. "Out of Night" (1937) and "Cloak of Aesir" (1939) developed the idea of psychological revolutionary warfare—turning the rulers' rules against them.

Campbell was directly influential on Heinlein's *Sixth Column* (1941) and *If This Goes On* . . . (1940), in which a fake religion and exploitation of the superstitions encouraged by an established religion are the keys to the success of revolutions. Fritz Leiber took the idea to its limit in *Gather Darkness* (1943): in a world ruled by a scientific elite that pretends to be a priesthood and awes the populace with "miracles," the underground is made up of other scientists who pretend to be witches and perform their own "miracles" while discrediting those of the "priesthood."

Heinlein tried to develop new revolutionary ideals—the principles of the Covenant derived from Alfred Korzybski's General Semantics. And he also realized a revolution in a modern society has to be a large-scale operation, not simply a palace coup. That realization may be a major factor, however, in the decline of Earth-based revolutionary sf: modern governments appear too well-organized, and to have too much social inertia behind them, to be overthrown.

Even before Heinlein, however, revolution had found a new field of action in science fiction. Virtually forgotten today, *The Birth of a New Republic* (1930) was a crude, but signal epic about the Moon's war for independence against a future Earth controlled by multi-national corporations (the moon men, in fact, are seeking an independent *corporation,* as opposed to nation). Miles J. Breuer collaborated with Jack Williamson, who later became better known for his space operas, on what proved to be the grandfather of *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress.*

Colonial rebellions against Earth are now familiar fare in sf—Heinlein's juveniles *Red Planet* (1949) and *Between Planets* (1951) carried the theme to Mars and Venus even before it was brought back to the Moon. More spectacular is Arthur C. Clarke's *Earthlight* (1955), in which the already-independent outer planets aid the Moon in a struggle that ends with a battle between an Earth-controlled fortress and an interplanetary fleet—a battle so epic that it could be the centerpiece for a science fiction movie to end all science fiction movies.

(continued on page 56)

THERE'S MORE TO FREEDOM THAN SLOGANS

Everybody claims to be in favor of "freedom." Yet how many people really understand what it's all about? Consider the businessman who's all for free competition . . . unless his competition is named IBM or is Japanese. Or the mayor who wants plentiful transportation . . . but outlaws jitneys. Or the military leader who wants to defend freedom . . . using conscripted labor. Or the citizen who's all for free speech and press . . . so long as the material isn't "obscene." Each wants freedom for the things he considers important, but at the expense of somebody else's freedom.

At REASON Magazine, we believe in freedom for *everyone*. With Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill, we believe a person should be free to take any action, so long as it does not interfere with the liberty of anyone else. We call this point of view *libertarianism*. It is unabashedly individualistic, capitalistic, and (we think) reasonable. Moreover, this voluntaristic, free market approach points the way toward solutions to many of the problems created by the unbridled growth of Big Brother statism — like war, taxation, the energy crisis, and inflation.

Each month REASON explores the implications and applications of the libertarian point of view.

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- Government Controls and Urban Development

In addition to thought-provoking articles, REASON features exclusive interviews with people worth knowing — people such as Nobel Prize-winning economist F.A. Hayek, outspoken psychiatrist Thomas S. Szasz, financial advisor Harry Browne, former governor Ronald Reagan, science fiction writer Poul Anderson, and economist Milton Friedman. Plus a host of regular columns and features, including news, personalities, reviews, and cartoons.

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EDITORIAL

(continued from page 8)

a house to rent it to several students who attended the nearby State University at Stony Brook. Under the ordinance, three unrelated people were prevented from occupying a dwelling, while no limitation was imposed on the number of occupants related by blood or marriage. In a seven-to-two decision (joined by all of Nixon's "strict constructionists"), the Supreme Court rejected the argument that the ordinance was invalid because it infringed the tenant's constitutionally guaranteed freedom of association and right to privacy. Although the *Boraas* case upheld a blatant restriction on property rights, many conservatives lauded the decision because the ordinance was aimed at young "counter-culture"-type students.

The issues raised by the *Boraas* case are closely analagous to the questions posed by the segregated private school cases. An interesting aspect of *Boraas* is that it was supported by the American Civil Liberties Union and that the only substantive dissent was written by Justice Marshall, who argued that the ordinance discriminated against individuals on the basis of their choice of lifestyle as to housing companions, and thereby impinged upon fundamental personal rights. Notwithstanding their pro-freedom views in the *Boraas* case, both the ACLU and Justice Marshall would not hesitate to prohibit private schools from discriminating against blacks.

Obviously, neither liberals nor conservatives adhere to consistent, principled positions in defense of individual liberty. Only libertarians consistently oppose attempts to use the State to restrict people from voluntarily handling their own wants and needs.

The problem at hand is not merely that of racial discrimination, but extends to the broader issue of State-provided schooling. It is shocking that many students do not learn how to read and write in tax-financed public schools. The hardship falls most heavily on the poor, whose children attend the worst quality State schools. After paying their taxes to support the public school, the poor simply do not have the option to finance their children's education in a private school.

Our program calls for radical surgery. We believe that the problem of segregated schools—and the problem of inferior quality—can be solved by eliminating the government from operating the schools, and allowing parents to select the type of school they want their children to attend.

The current attack on segregated private schools is misguided. The attack should instead, be aimed at government-controlled school systems. If Americans are unwilling to allow government to control the press, why should it be given the vastly greater power of controlling the schools?

Only approximately one percent of the nation's school children attend racially segregated private schools. To relentlessly pursue those few parents who prefer to finance their children's education in a segregated private school helps lead to racial antagonism, and is harmful to all races. Racial tolerance cannot be achieved by legislation. If the Supreme Court had not followed previous State court decisions in adopting the "separate but equal" rule in 1896, there would have been a halt to State-imposed segregation, and racially integrated schools could have come as a natural, voluntary development. In this Bicentennial year, it is timely for the nation to recognize and preserve the important principle of liberty that is involved, and to limit, rather than expand, governmental power over the nation's schools.

—MANUEL S. KLAUSNER

publisher's notes

• **NEW EDITORS:** We are delighted to announce the addition of two distinguished new contributing editors to our staff, Professor Henry G. Manne and Professor Eric Mack. Both Manne and Mack have contributed significant articles to REASON, and Manne was featured in REASON's spotlight in our May 1976 issue. Manne is director of the Law and Economics Center at the University of Miami Law School and is a prolific and influential author of books and articles. Mack teaches philosophy at Tulane University and recently studied as a fellow in philosophy at Harvard University. He has had two important papers published recently, "Distributionism Versus Justice," in *Ethics*, January 1976, and "Causing and Failing to Prevent," *Southwestern Journal of Philosophy*, Vol.2, No.1 (1976). REASON is honored to have these scholars join us.

• **NEW FORMAT:** In this month's issue we have inaugurated the initial phase of our new layout. Designed by our art director, Phil Groves, our new table of contents page and masthead and new article sequence will, we hope, enhance the readability of REASON. This issue will be the last to use the sans-serif type style, Univers, exclusively. Next month we will introduce a serif typeface, Century, which will be used for back-of-the-book features. We are interested in receiving comments from readers concerning their reaction to our new format. ◻

"THAT'S MY TROUBLE - INTELLIGENT VOTERS!"

contents of volume seven

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FRONTLINES

THE SOCIAL ISSUES

The libertarian movement might be considered primarily "idea oriented," since the philosophy of individualism, human rights, and economic freedom is extensively developed in the areas of epistemology, moral philosophy, economic theory, etc. The correctness of the ideas is well documented as providing the optimal level of material well-being and political freedom for those societies in history that have been fortunate enough to adopt the libertarian philosophy of government.

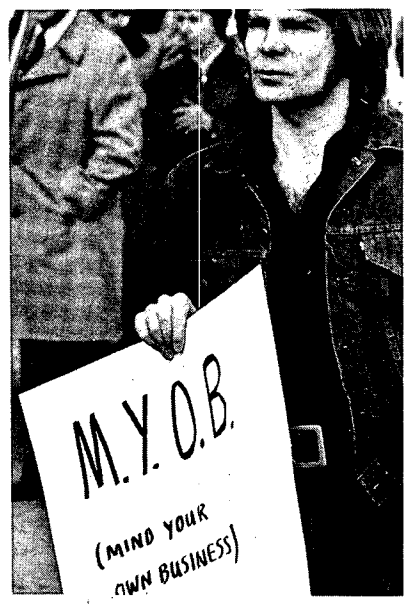
A cant phrase we have all heard is that ideas rule the world. Yet, looking at the world today one must doubt it. Attitudes rule the world. An attitude is sort of an emotionally overladen, half-baked idea. On the basis of attitudes, most people invariably decide whether or not they like somebody, whether they agree with them, and whether they would be willing to work with them toward a common political goal.

It is no accident that conservatives tend to share attitudes in favor of free enterprise and against big government with the libertarians, and to share attitudes with the communists against personal freedom and in favor of social repression. Conservatives find their political motivation in the defense of community norms and traditional values. In this country, a few libertarian values are "traditional," as luck would have it. In Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia, of course, conservatives and communists differ only in their "enemies lists," not in their programs. Deviation from the permitted norm is a police matter.

In Pocatello, Idaho, a few months ago libertarian activist *Larry Fullmer* achieved more public exposure and positive results for the libertarian cause in five minutes than some economic educationalists have achieved in 40 years. It seems that a coalition of downtown merchants and church groups were unhappy with a pornographic bookshop and theater which had opened in the conservative, small town (pop. 45,000). The group organized a round-the-clock picket line hopefully to force the shop to go broke by embarrassing potential customers, inhibiting them from entering. The picket line was meant to generate the publicity to back up lobbying efforts in behalf of a law against the sale of smut.

On the day the picket began, Larry decided during his coffee break to make a sign and stage a counter-picket. When he arrived at the scene with his sign, all of the reporters and cameras proceeded to give him equal time. He explained the libertarian philosophy and the radio stations broadcast the interview every hour for the rest of the day; the television stations ran the interview twice that evening and a station in Texas picked up the story. The newspapers gave the story front page billing, and the A.P. carried the news (this writer saw it in the *Chicago Tribune*).

As a result of the newspaper story and a letter to the editor he was invited to participate in a public forum on the issue of pornography. Over 200 people attended the forum, including the media. According to him, he had never given a public



Larry Fullmer counter-picketing.

speech before but he did his homework and was able to present the libertarian philosophy for 30 minutes and then answer questions from the audience for 30 minutes more. The puritan speakers were visibly at a disadvantage. One member of the audience publicly announced that his mind had been changed and that he no longer would support the efforts to outlaw the bookshop. The following day the media carried an extensive account of the libertarian arguments.

Fullmer has become a public figure in Pocatello, having appeared as the featured guest on interview programs. He has been invited to appear again in the future, and dates have been scheduled. In addition, through his contacts with the media he has generated interest in Roger MacBride, who is scheduled to appear on the important TV and radio programs and will be interviewed by the press when in town.

He writes: "I fell into all of the above quite by accident. I wanted something new to do on my coffee break that first day. My focus of libertarian activity in the past has been on economic issues (we've had two successful tax protests here) and I had never really considered the civil liberties issues. I would like to encourage other libertarians to actively seek the kinds of situations which I fell into. I think that even in the Mormon community of Pocatello those who disagreed with the [puritans] were in the large majority, but they needed a spokesman. This time the spokesman was a libertarian and I'm sure they will remember that."

LIBERTARIANS FOR GAY RIGHTS

The *MacBride for President Committee, 1516 P Street, NW Washington, DC 20005,* has published Ralph Raico's booklet on gay rights. This is the first of several longer position papers which the campaign intends to print and distribute. According to *John Vernon,* the booklet has received very favorable comment in the press. The initial supply he received was exhausted almost immediately. Those who may not have seen the booklet should make a point of writing the MacBride for President Committee (send 50 cents) for a copy. The case which Raico presents in favor of personal freedom for gay people is one of the most persuasive pieces of libertarian literature in print. The arguments for individual liberty and against government regulation of social affairs are very powerful when put in the context of the right of stigmatized individuals to live in peace. The examples of the treatment of gays in the Communist countries are cogent and moving contrasts between the system of values which libertarians stand for and the brutal, disgusting system of life which Marxism represents. Raico is, in addition, an excellent stylist. His position paper for the Libertarian Party on civil liberties is also highly recommended.

In passing, we should mention that John Vernon also edits the newsletter of the *Libertarians for Gay Rights, 1206 NW. 40th Street, Oklahoma City, OK 73118.* The Raico booklet as well as additional information on activities on this front can be obtained from L.G.R. directly. In New

York last September, *Roy Childs* joked that Vernon as candidate for Vice President on L.P. ticket might guarantee the Party 10 percent of the vote, since that proportion of the population is estimated to be gay. At this point, the L.P. is the only political group which is not itself gay to adopt such a position unhypocritically. Although such a stand may alienate the majority of voters, it has already begun to impress some intellectuals and significant figures in the news media.

SCHOLARS COMMITTEE

The campaign for President, of course, is an exercise in communication and building support for libertarian ideas and values. An important technique which all such campaigns engage in is to publicize the names of significant people in various professions who are willing to declare their support. Ralph Raico is in charge of developing the *Scholars and Arts & Letters Committee for MacBride/Bergland.* At present, the committee includes Robert Nozick, John Hospers, Thomas Szasz, Murray Rothbard, Sam Peltzman, Karl Brunner, et al. Any academic or writer is invited to contact Raico at *7 Inwood Place, Buffalo, NY 14222* for more information about the Committee. Incidentally, Thomas Szasz and Robert Nozick are also candidates for the Electoral College for MacBride and Bergland in their respective states.

Joe Cobb

This column is concerned with an analysis of the activities on the "frontlines" of the battle of political principles, and with the people who are active in the struggle. Please send news and ideas to Joe Cobb, Box 1776, Chicago, IL 60690 for consideration and use in FRONTLINES.

VIEWPOINT

(continued from page 45)

cal nationalist demagogy and vainglory of every imperialist power grab, there lurks the use of the State apparatus to gain special privileges and subsidies for powerful financial interests. ◻

Murray Rothbard is professor of economics at the Polytechnic Institute of New York. Dr. Rothbard's Viewpoint appears in this column every third month, alternating with those of Tibor Machan and David Brudnoy.

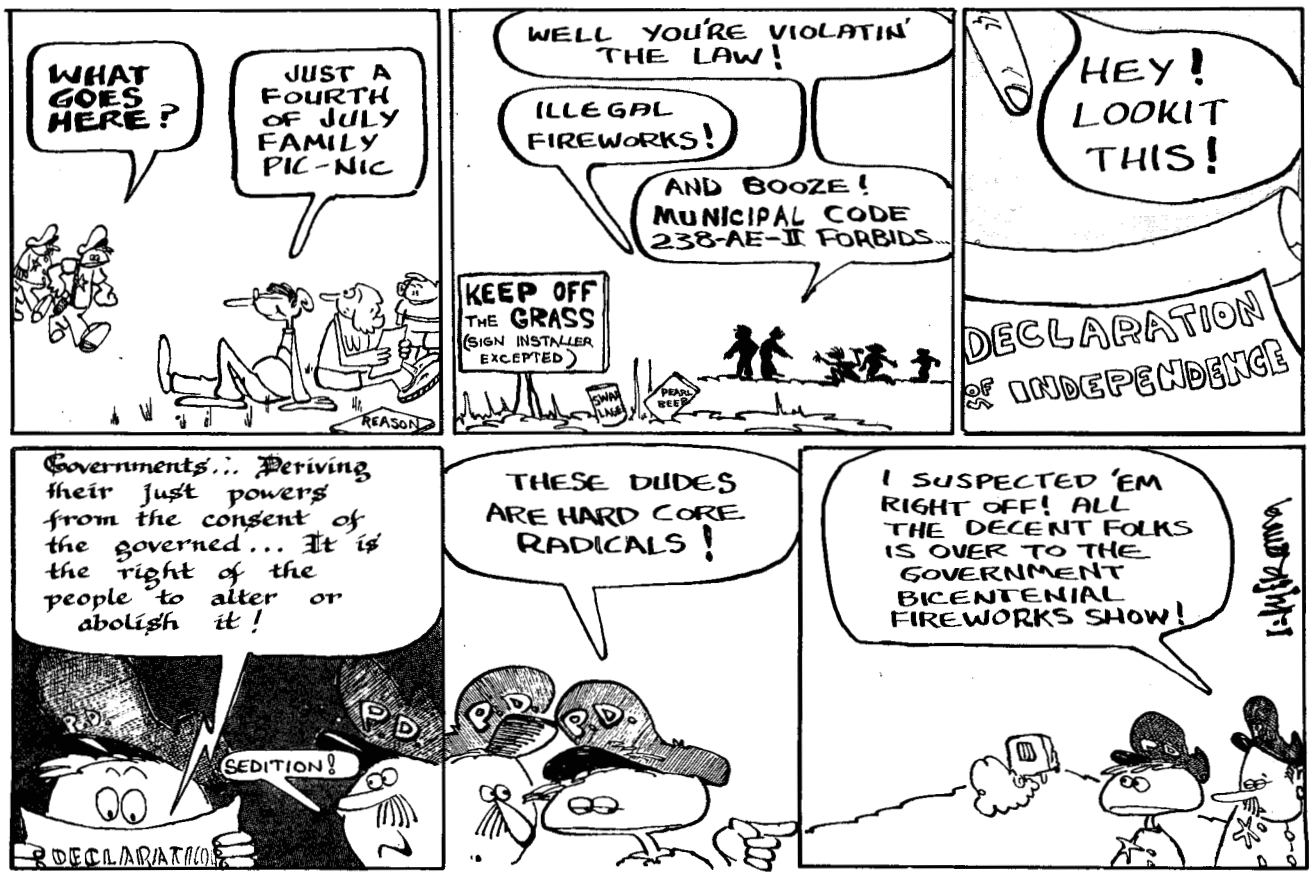
"I cannot understand why proponents of the free enterprise system, such as men like the Senator from South Carolina, cannot understand that the greatest threat we have is allocators, the men sitting here in Washington in the bureaucracies allocating out the shortages. They are not going to allocate out surpluses. They are allocating out shortages. He who controls the shortages of energy is the person who is going to control the profit and loss statements of one company after another in this country, and he is going to control the health and the well-being of the average citizen when he tells him whether or not he will have a job or can have natural gas to heat his home.

That is the reason, by the way, that I feel so strongly about this issue. It does seem to me to be a basic civil liberties issue. *It is much more than just the regulation or nonregulation of natural gas.* It is whether or not we are going to have the heavy, clammy hand of Government on every private enterprise in this country."

— **Sen. John Tunney**
October 1975

rudebarbs

RANDALL K HYLKEMA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LETTERS

(continued from page 13)

a debating society—but it is not a political party.

I know that the decision to "go political" was not an easy one within the libertarian movement. But it was made. So let us either go political without pulling punches, or let's clean house and have the theoreticians go one way and those that like political action another. They can help and complement each other, they need not be antagonists. But they cannot function competently within the same framework. Whether we talk about anarchists and limited government advocates, or activists and "purists" is in no way relevant. But I believe that they must part company and get out of each other's way if both are to function to the best of their considerable ability. If we are to change society, it is imperative that we show the man on the street, the voter, why it is to his or her advantage to vote for us. To accomplish this, we must know how our philosophy will affect reality, and hence his or her life. As long as we cannot reach that level, we are wasting our and their time. Which in our own words is what every other political party is doing. I welcome the readers' comments.

Carlos Henkel
N. Hollywood, CA

SUDETENLAND QUESTIONS

Editor Machan tells us that he believes that America is not quite as bad as some of the other nations and asks "Am I wrong?" I think he's right. In smashing icons, the revisionist historian must avoid the temptation to cast and raise icons of his own. He should strive for a balanced account. Instead we often find two biased histories standing like two lawyers' briefs with only a pretense of objectivity.

App's "Sudeten German Tragedy" is an example. The Sudeten mountains were heavily fortified and were the key to the Czechoslovakian defense against Germany. Without them Czechoslovakia was at the mercy of Germany. Benes resigned three days after the Munich pact and four months later Hitler dissolved Czechoslovakia, thereby violating the Munich pact and revealing that he had lied when he said that he sought hegemony over Germans only.

Chamberlain's act was a violation of the tripartate treaty between France, Britain and Czechoslovakia and must have been an act of desperation rather than of belated justice. He was obviously buying time so that Britain could re-arm. The British aircraft industry, however belatedly, was so mobilized for war that he flew to Munich in an American-made Lockheed plane.

M. D. Isely
Trona, CA

Dr. App replies: Mr. Isely impugns the Munich Pact because it deprived Czechoslovakia of "The Sudeten Mountains . . . and the key to Czechoslovakian defense against Germany" and because four months later Hitler "dissolved Czechoslovakia."

Hitler's converting Bohemia and Moravia into a "Protectorate" is irrelevant to the right or wrong of the Munich pact, as little as Moscow's making a Captive Nation out of Czechoslovakia in 1948 invalidates the propriety of its liberation from Germany in 1945 by the Western Allies. Nor did Hitler annex these provinces; he placed them in a "Protectorate" to prevent what happened to them in 1948!

But the real thrust of Mr. Isely's letter is his invalidating the Munich Pact because the Sudeten Mountains constituted an important defense line for the Czechs. In trying to base boundaries on favorable lines of defense, Mr. Isely in effect throws international relations back to the jungle of might makes right.

If a nation is justified in taking or keeping any territory it deems most easily defensible, a strong enough nation could soon claim the whole world. The Sudeten Mountains are as much of a defense line for Germany against the Slavs as for the Czechs against the Germans. The Soviet-Russians now claim them thus. If Mr. Isely's argument holds, they can one day similarly claim the Rhine, and thereafter the Atlantic!

No, what is defensible may not properly and justly determine boundaries, but only the wish of the rightful inhabitants. The wish of the inhabitants of the Sudetenland for over 700 years was union with Austria and Germany. They got it belatedly—by twenty years—in the Munich Pact.—A.J.A.

Letters from readers are welcome. Each receives editorial consideration, although only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged. They should be kept as brief as possible and are subject to condensation. Letters submitted for publication in this column should be typed, double-spaced. Send letters to REASON, P.O. Box 5151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

SCI-FI

(continued from page 50)

Clarke plays this against an espionage plot that turns on ideals more evolutionary than "revolutionary."

Finding freedom on other worlds may still seem a remote dream, if any dream at all—yet it could become reality. And some of the arguments now are purely economic: Larry Niven, in his Known Space series, depicts a self-sufficient mining society in the asteroid belt that succeeds because it is a more practical source of raw materials for export than deep "gravity wells" like Mars or Venus. But Jerry Pournelle, in works like "Tinker" (1975) argues that Niven's society wouldn't work because there aren't enough asteroids close enough together to make it economically cohesive. It's gone beyond the stage of fiction, too. Gerard K. O'Neill, a professor of physics at Princeton University, has developed a "space colonization" program that he argues would not only be practical—but *profitable,* with existing technology. Creation of artificial worlds in space for human colonization is an idea that goes back as far as Konstantin Tsiolkovsky's *Beyond the Earth* (1918). Even O'Neill, however, was skeptical until his students worked out the economics: using material from the Moon, fabricated in space, huge self-sufficient colonies can be built in lunar orbit—and pay for themselves by selling the Earth solar power, beamed planetside by microwave.

An organization called the L5 Society (c/o Space Resources Program, Polytechnic Institute of New York, 333 Jay Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201) has been founded to promote O'Neill's ideas, and the possibilities of space colonies as, not only solutions to Earth's energy and resource shortages, but as habitats of "the rebirth of a new frontier for social, political and economic experiments."

It seems like a science fiction dream come true, and while there are obvious problems for libertarians (given the state of the world, the chances are that only governments can afford the initial investment in space colonies; on the other hand, Britain, France and Spain financed colonization of the New World and what do *they* have to say about running it any more?), it is a dream that could lead to a new birth of freedom, a new revolution, when all hope had seemed lost.

John J. Pierce

John J. Pierce's Science Fiction column alternates monthly in REASON with Davis Keeler's Money column.

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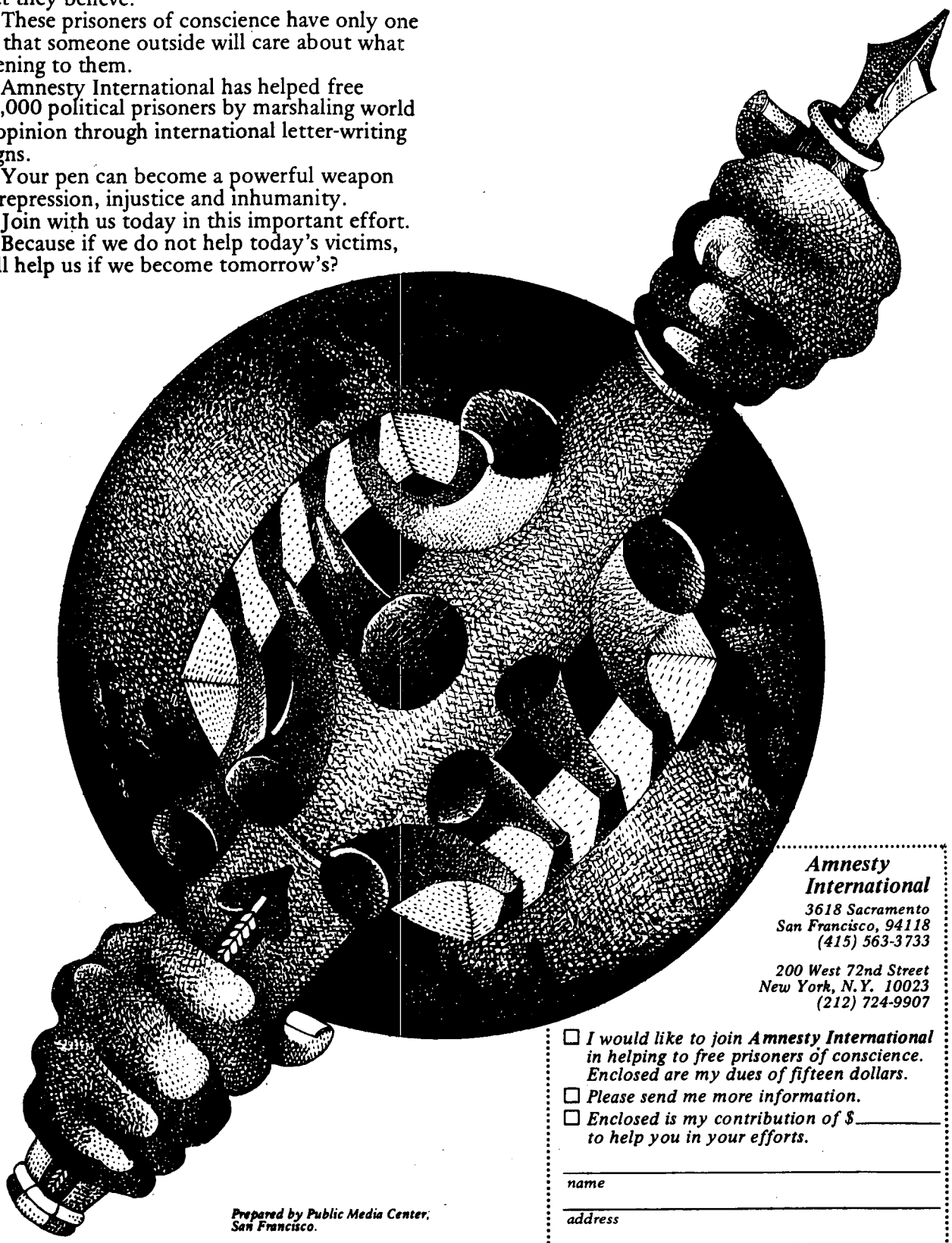

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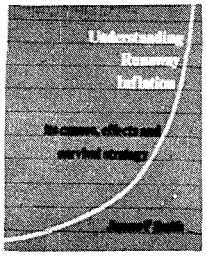

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